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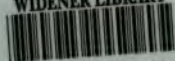
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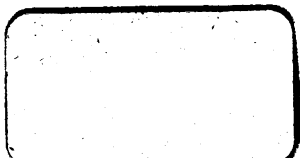


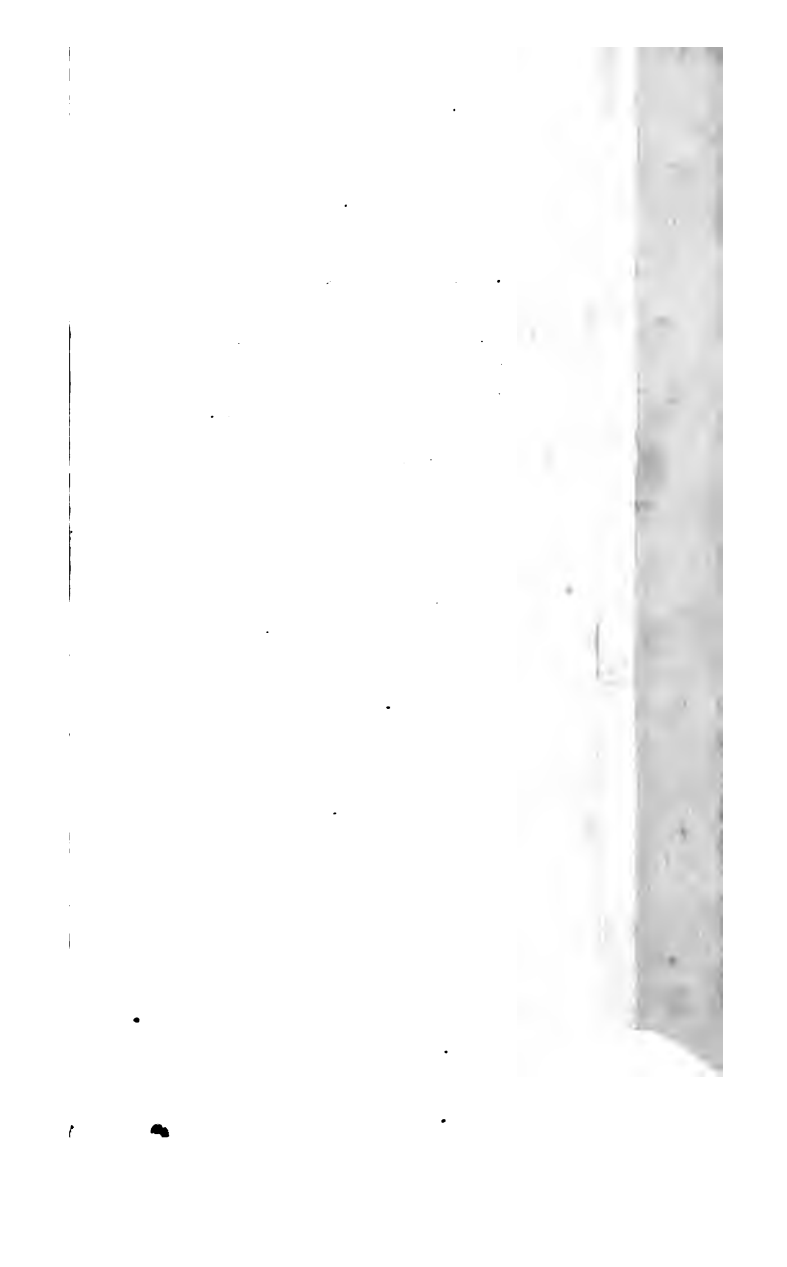
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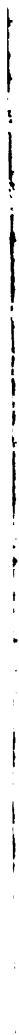
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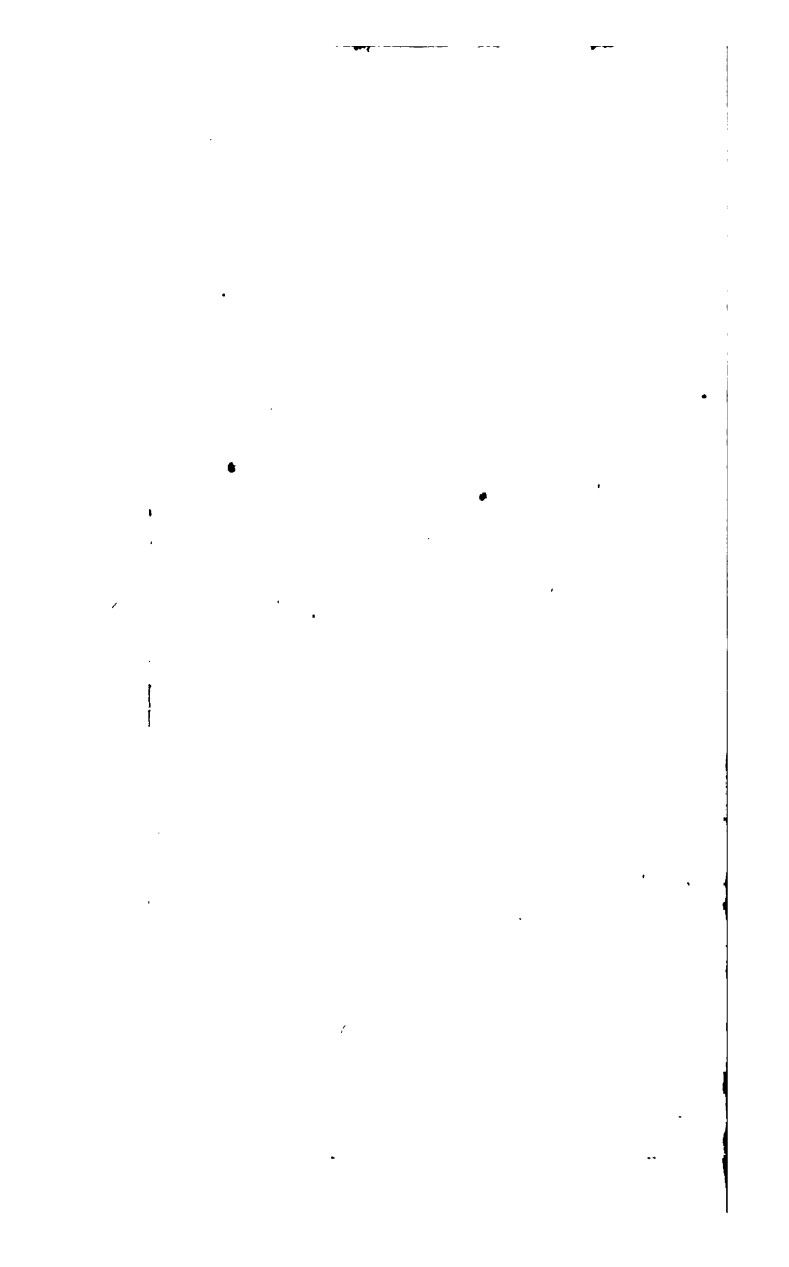
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THE
LIFE
OF
BARON FREDERICK TRENCK,
CONTAINING
HIS ADVENTURES,
HIS
CRUEL AND EXCESSIVE SUFFERINGS
DURING
TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT AT THE FORTRESS
OF MAGDEBURG, BY COMMAND OF THE
LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.
ALSO,
ANECDOTES,
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL.

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LIFE

OF

BARON FREDERICK TRENCK.

I was born at Königsberg, in Prussia, February 16, 1726, of one of the most ancient families of the country. My father, a knight of the military order, lord of Great Scharlack, Schaculack, and Meicken, and major-general of cavalry, died in 1740, after having received eighteen wounds in the Prussian service. My mother, descended from the house of Derschau, was daughter of the president of the high court at Königsberg. She had two brothers, generals of infantry, and a third, minister of state, and postmaster-general at Berlin. After my father's death, in 1740, she married Count Lostange, lieutenant-colonel in the Kiow regiment of cuirassiers, with whom, leaving Prussia, she went and resided at Breslaw. I had two brothers and a sister. My youngest brother was taken by my mother into Silesia; the other was also a cornet in this last named regiment of Kiow; and my sister was married to the only son of the aged General Valdow, who quitted the service, and with whom she lived in Brandenburg on his estates.

My ancestors, both of the male and female line, are famous in the chronicles of the North, among the ancient Teutonic knights, who conquered Courland, Prussia, and Livonia.

By temperament I was choleric, and addicted to pleasure and dissipation, which last defect my tutors found most difficult to overcome. Happily, they were aided by a love of knowledge inherent in me, an emulative spirit, and a thirst of fame; which disposition it was my father's care to cherish. A too great consciousness of innate worth gave me a too great degree of pride, but the endeavours of my instructor to inspire humility were not all lost; and habitual reading, well-timed praise, and the pleasures flowing from science, made the labours of study at length my recreation.

My memory became remarkable: I was well read in the Holy Scriptures, the classics, and ancient history; was intimately acquainted with geography, could draw accurately, and learned fencing, riding, and other necessary exercises.

My religion was Lutheran: but morality, and not superstitious bigotry, or childish fears, was taught me by my father, and by the worthy man to whose care he committed the forming of my heart, and whose memory I shall ever hold in veneration. While a boy, I was enterprising in all the tricks of boys, and exercised my wit in crafty excuses. The warmth of my passions, then and afterwards, gave a satiric, biting cast to my writings; whence it has been imagined, by those who knew but little of me, I was a dangerous man; though I am conscious this was a hasty and false judgment.

A soldier himself, my father would have all his sons the same: thus, when we quarrelled, we were not admitted to terminate our disputes in the common way, but were provided with sabres, sheathed with leather, and, brandishing these, contested, by blows, for victory, while our father sat laughing, pleased at our valour and address: but this, and the praises he bestowed, had the bad effect of encouraging a disposition, which,

with passions like mine, ought carefully to have been counteracted.

Covetous of praise, and accustomed to receive the prize, and be the hero of scholastic contentions, I acquired also the bad habit of disputation, and of imagining myself a sage, when little more than a boy. I became stubborn in argument, hasty to correct, instead of patiently listening; and, by my presumption, continually liable to incite enmity.

Gentle to my inferiors, but jealous of contradiction, and the pride of power, I may hence date the origin of all my evils. The abhorrence, too, I had of arbitrary power, and its abuse, for the silent acquiescence in which my education and book-taught principles ill fitted me, were additional causes.

My father sent me, at the age of thirteen, to the university of Königsberg, where, under the tuition of Kowalewsky, my progress was rapid. There were fourteen other noblemen, of the best families, in the same house, and under the same master.

The year following, that is to say, in 1740, I had a quarrel with one young Wallenrodt, a fellow student, much stronger and taller than myself, and who, thereupon, despising my weakness, thought proper to give me a blow. I demanded satisfaction. He came not to the appointed place, but treated my demand with contempt: and I, forgetting all further respect, found a second, and attacked him in open day. We fought, and I had the fortune to wound him twice; the first time in the arm, the second in the hand.

This affair incited inquiry. Dr. Kowalewsky, our tutor, laid complaints before the university, and I was condemned to three hours' confinement; but my grandfather and guardian, President Derschau, with whom I was a great favourite, was so pleased with my courage, that he instantly took me from this house, and placed me under Professor Christiani.

Here I first began to enjoy full and entire liberty ; and from this worthy man I learned all I know of experimental philosophy and science. He loved me as his own son, and sometimes continued instructing me till midnight. Under his auspices, in 1742, I maintained, with great success, two public theses, although I was then but sixteen—an effort and an honour till then unknown.

Three days after my last public exordium, a contemptible fellow, and professional bully, sought a quarrel with me, and, as I may say, obliged me to draw in my own defence, whom, on this occasion, I wounded in the groin.

This continued success highly inflated my valour, and from that time I began to wear a sword of enormous length, and to assume the accoutrements and appearance of a Hector.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after this last affair, before I had another with a lieutenant of the garrison, one of my friends, whom I had insulted, who received two wounds in the contest.

I ought to remark that, at this time, the university of Königsberg was still highly privileged. To send a challenge was held honourable ; and this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to prevent, considering the great number of proud, hot-headed, and turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to study, and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the university into disrepute, and the abuse has been endeavoured to be remedied. Men have acquired a greater extent of true knowledge, and have begun to perceive that a university ought to be a place of instruction, and not a field of battle ; and that blood cannot be honourably shed, except in defence of life or country.

In November, 1742, the king sent his adjutant-general, Baron Lottum, who was related to my mother, to

Königsberg, with whom I dined at my grandfather's. He conversed much with me, and, after various questions, meant to discover what my talents and inclinations were, he demanded, as in joke, whether I had any inclination to go with him to Berlin, and serve my country, as my ancestors had ever done; adding, that in the army I should find much better opportunities of sending challenges, than at the university. Inflamed with the desire of distinguishing myself, I listened with rapture to the proposition, and in a few days we departed for Potsdam.

On the morrow after my arrival, I was presented to the king, as, indeed, I had before been in the year 1740, with the character of being then one of the most hopeful youths of the university. My reception was most flattering. The justness of my replies to the questions he put, my height, figure, and confidence, pleased him, and I soon obtained permission to enter, as a cadet, in his body guards, with a promise of quick preferment.

The body guards formed, at this time, a model and school for the Prussian cavalry. It consisted of one single squadron of men selected from the whole army, whose uniform was the most splendid in all Europe. Two thousand rix dollars were necessary to equip an officer. The cuirass was wholly plated with silver; and the horse, furniture and accoutrements alone, cost four hundred rix dollars.

This squadron only consisted of six officers and a hundred and forty-four men; but there were always fifty or sixty supernumeraries, and as many horses, for the king incorporated all the most handsome men he found in these guards. The officers were the best taught of any the army contained: the king himself formed them, and afterwards sent them to instruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learned. Their rise was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were broken for the least fault, and punished, by being sent

to garrison regiments. It was likewise necessary they should be tolerably rich, as well as possess such talents as might be successfully employed, both at court and in the army.

There are no soldiers in the world who undergo so much as this body guard; for, during the time I was in the service of Frederick, I often had not eight hours' sleep in eight days. Exercise began at four in the morning, and experiments were made of all the alterations the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of four, five, six feet, and still wider, were leaped, till some one broke his neck. Hedges, in like manner, were freed, and the horse ran careers, meeting each other full speed, in a kind of lists of more than half a league in length. We had often, in these our exercises, several men and horses killed or wounded. *

It happened more frequently than otherwise, that the same experiments were repeated after dinner, with fresh horses; and it was not uncommon, at Potsdam, to hear the alarm sounded twice in a night. The horses stood in the king's stables; and whoever had not dressed, armed himself, and saddled his horse, mounted, and appeared before the palace, in eight minutes, was put under arrest for fourteen days.

Scarcely were the eyes closed, before the trumpet again sounded, to accustom youth to vigilance. I lost, in one year, three horses, which had either broken their legs in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue.

I cannot give a stronger picture of this service, than by saying, that the body guard lost more men and horses in one year's peace, than during the following year they did in two battles.

We had, at this time, three stations: our service, during winter, was at Berlin, where we attended the opera, and all public festivals; in the spring, we were exercised at Charlottenberg; and at Potsdam, or wherever the king went, during the summer. The

six officers of the guard dined with the king, and, on gala days, with the queen. It may be presumed, there was not at that time on earth a better school to form an officer and a man of the world, than was the court of Berlin.

I had scarcely been six weeks a cadet, before the king took me aside one day after the parade, and, having examined me near half an hour on various subjects, commanded me to come and speak to him on the morrow.

His intention was, to find whether the accounts that had been given him of my memory had not been exaggerated; and, that he might be convinced, he first gave me the names of fifty soldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the subjects of two letters, which I immediately composed in French and Latin; the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a landscape from nature, which I executed with equal success; and he then gave me a cornet's commission in his body guards.

Each mark of bounty from the monarch increased an ardour already great, inspired me with gratitude, and the first of my wishes was, to devote my life to the service of my king and country. He spoke to me, as a sovereign should speak, like a father—like one who knew well how to estimate the gifts bestowed on me by nature: and, perceiving, or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once my instructor and my friend.

Thus did I remain a cadet only six weeks; and few Prussians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederiek, of equal good fortune.

The king not only presented me with a commission, but equipped me splendidly for the service. Thus did I suddenly find myself a courtier and an officer in the finest, bravest, and best taught corps in Europe. My good fortune seemed unlimited, when in the month of

August, 1743, the king selected me to go and instruct the Silesian cavalry in the new manœuvres; an honour never before granted to a youth of eighteen.

I have already said, we were garrisoned at Berlin during winter, where the officers' table was at court; and, as my reputation had preceded me, no person whatever could be better received there, or live more pleasantly.

Frederick commanded me to visit the literati, whom he had invited to his court. Maupertuis, Jordan, La Metrie and Pollnitz, were all my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happiness was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches in height: Nature had endowed me with every requisite to please, and my mind was wholly occupied by the desire of acquiring well-founded fame.

I had hitherto remained ignorant of love, and had been terrified from illicit commerce, by beholding the dreadful objects of the hospital at Potsdam. During the winter of 1743, the nuptials of his majesty's sister were held, who was married to the king of Sweden, where she is at present queen dowager mother of the reigning Gustavus. I, as officer of my corps, had the honour to mount guard, and escort her as far as Stettin. Here did my heart first feel a passion, of which, in the course of my history, I shall have frequent occasion to speak. The object of my love was one whom I can only remember at present with reverence; and ours was, mutually, the first fruits of affection. "Amid the tumult inseparable to occasions like these, on which it was my duty to maintain order, a thief had the address to steal my watch, and cut away a part of the gold fringe which hung from the waistcoat of my uniform, and escaped unperceived. This accident brought on me the raillery of my comrades; and the

lady alluded to thence took occasion to console me, by saying, it should be her care that I should be no loser. Her words were accompanied by a look I could not misunderstand, and a few days afterward I thought myself the happiest of mortals." The name, however, of this high-born lady is a secret which must descend with me to the grave; and my children alone, on my death bed, shall be taught the name of her to whom they owe the preservation of their father, and, consequently, their own existence.

I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly esteemed. The king testified his approbation at every opportunity; my mistress supplied me with more money than I could expend; "and I was presently the best equipped, and made the greatest figure of any officer in the whole corps. The style in which I lived was remarked; for" I had only received from my father's heritage the estate of Great Scharlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year, which was far from sufficient to supply my then expenses. My amour, in the mean time, remained a secret from my best and most intimate friends. Twice was my absence from Potsdam and Charlottenberg discovered, and I was put under arrest; but the king seemed satisfied with the excuses I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and smiled as he granted my pardon.

In the beginning of September, 1744, war again broke out between the houses of Austria and Prussia. We marched with all expedition towards Prague, traversing Saxony without opposition.

Frederick, on this occasion, with regret, had recourse to arms, of which I was a witness.

If I am not mistaken, the king's army came before Prague on the fourteenth of September.

The height called Zischka, which overlooks the city, was instantly seized without opposition; and the batteries erected at the foot of that mountain, being ready

on the fifth day, played with such success on the old town, with bombs and red hot balls, that it was set on fire.

General Harsch thought proper to capitulate, "after a siege of twelve days, during which, not more than five hundred men of the garrison, at the utmost, were killed and wounded, though" eighteen thousand men were made prisoners.

Thus far we had met with no impediment. The Imperial army, however, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, having quitted the banks of the Rhine, was advancing to save Bohemia.

During this campaign, we saw the enemy only at a distance; but the Austrian light troops, being thrice as numerous as ours, prevented us from foraging. Winter was approaching; dearth and hunger made Frederick determine to retreat, without the least hope from the countries in our rear, which we had entirely laid waste as we had advanced. The severity of the season, in the month of November, rendered the soldiers excessively impatient of their hardships; and, accustomed to conquer, the Prussians were ashamed of, and repined at, retreat. The enemy's light troops facilitated desertion, and we lost, in a few weeks, above thirty thousand men. The pandours of my kinsmen, the Austrian Trenck, were incessantly at our heels; gave us frequent alarms; did us great injury; and, by their alertness, we never could make any impression upon them with our cannon. Trenck at length passed the Elbe, and went and burned or destroyed our magazines at Pardubitz: it was, therefore, resolved wholly to evacuate Bohemia.

The king hoped to have brought Prince Charles to a battle, between Benneschau and Kannupitz; but in vain: the Saxons, during the night, had erected a battery of three-and-twenty cannon, on a mound which separated two ponds. This was the precise road by which the king meant to make the attack.

Thus were we obliged to abandon Bohemia. The dearth, both for man and horse, began to grow extreme. The weather was bad; the roads in deep ruts; marches were unceasing; alarms and attacks from the enemy's light troops became incessant. The discontent all these inspired was universal, and this occasioned the great loss of the army.

Under such circumstances, had Prince Charles continued to harass us, by pursuing us into Silesia; had he made a winter campaign, instead of remaining indolently at ease in Bohemia, we certainly should not have vanquished him the year following, at Strigan; but he only followed at a distance, as far as the Bohemian frontiers. This gave Frederick time to recover, and the more effectually, because the Austrians had the imprudence to permit the return of deserters.

This was a repetition of what had happened to Charles the XII., when he suffered his Russian prisoners to return home, who afterwards so effectually punished his contempt of them at the battle of Pultowa.

Prague was obliged to be abandoned, with considerable loss; and Trenck seized on Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, where he took prisoners the regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz.

No one would have been better able to give a faithful history of this campaign than myself, had I room in this place, and had I, at that time, been more attentive to things of moment; since I not only performed the office of adjutant to the king, when he went to reconnoitre, or choose a place of encampment, but it was, moreover, my duty to provide forage for the headquarters. "The king having only permitted me to take six volunteer guards, to execute this latter duty, I was obliged to add to them horse, chasseurs, and hussars, with whom I was continually in motion." I was peculiarly fortunate, on two occasions, by happening to come after the enemy when they had left loaded wagons and forage bundles.

turning himself toward the English ambassador, who was near him, said, laying his hand on my shoulder, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse.*"*

"In a few minutes he rose from the table, gave a glance at the prisoners, hung the order of merit round my neck, and commanded me to go and repose."

"As I did not want money, I gave the sergeants twenty ducats each, and the soldiers one, in order to ensure their silence, which, being a favourite with them, they readily promised." I, however, was determined to declare the truth the very first opportunity, and this happened a few days after.

We were on the march, and I, as cornet, was at the head of my company, when the king, advancing, beckoned me to come to him, and bade me tell him exactly how the affair I had so lately been engaged in, happened.

The question, at first, made me distrust I was betrayed; but, remarking the king had a mildness in his manner, I presently recovered myself, and related the exact truth. I saw the astonishment of his countenance, but I, at the same time, saw he was pleased with my sincerity. He spoke to me for half an hour, not as a king, but as a father; praised my candour, and ended with the following words, which, while life remains, I shall never forget: "Confide in the advice I give you; depend wholly upon me, and I will make you a man." Whoever can feel, can imagine, how infinitely my gratitude towards the king was increased, by this great goodness. From that moment, I had no other desire than to live and die for his service.

I soon perceived the confidence the king had in me after this explanation, of which I received very fre-

* Literally, *He is a matadore of my youth.*" The allusion, apparently, is to the resistless power of the matadore at the game of *quadrille*.

quent marks, the following winter, at Berlin. He permitted me to be present at his conversations with the literati of his court, and my state was truly enviable.

I received, this same winter, more than five hundred ducats, as presents. So much happiness could not but excite jealousy, and this began to be manifest on every side. I had too little disguise for a courtier, and my heart was much too open and frank.

Before I proceed, I will here relate an incident of the last campaign, which will, no doubt, be read in the history of Frederick.

During the retreat from Bohemia, the king came to Kollin, with his horse guards, the cavalry pickets of the head quarters, and the second and third battalions of guards. We had only four field pieces, and our squadron was stationed in one of the suburbs. Our advanced posts, towards evening, were driven back into the town, and the hussars entered pell mell. The enemy's light troops swarmed over the country, and my commanding officer sent me immediately to receive the king's orders. After much search, I found him at the top of a steeple, with a telescope in his hand. Never did I see him so disturbed, or undecided, as on this occasion. Orders were immediately given, that we should retreat, through the city, into the opposite suburb, where we were to halt, but not unsaddle.

We had not been here long, before a most heavy rain fell, and the night became exceedingly dark. My cousin Trenck made his appearance about nine in the evening, with his pandour and janizary musick, and set fire to several houses. They found we were in the suburb, and began to fire upon us from the city windows. The tumult became extreme; the city was too full for us to re-enter; the gate was shut, and they from above fired at us with our field-pieces. Trenck had let in the water upon us, and we were up to the girths, by midnight, and almost in despair. We lost seven men, and my horse was wounded in the neck.

The king and all of us had certainly been made prisoners, had my cousin, as he has since told me, been able to continue the assault he had begun; but a cannon ball having wounded him in the foot, he was carried off, and the pandours retired. The corps of Nassau arrived next day to our aid. We quitted Kollin; and, during the march, the king said to me, "Your cousin had nearly played us a malicious prank last night, but the deserters say he is killed." He then asked me what our relationship was; and there our conversation ended.

It was about the middle of December when he came to Berlin, where I was received with open arms. I became less cautious than formerly, and, perhaps, was more narrowly observed. A lieutenant of the foot guards, who was a public Ganymede, and against whom I had that natural antipathy and abhorrence I have for all such wretches, having indulged himself in some very impertinent jokes on the secret of my amour, I bestowed on him the epithet he deserved: we drew our swords, and he was wounded. On the Sunday following, I presented myself to pay my respects to his majesty on the parade, who said to me, as he passed, "The thunder begins to roll, and the bolt may fall—Beware." He added nothing more.

Some little time after, I was a few minutes too late on the parade: the king remarked it, and sent me, under arrest, to the foot guard at Potsdam. When I had been here a fortnight, Colonel Wartensleben came, and advised me to petition for pardon. I was then too much a novice in the modes of the court to follow his counsel; nor did I even remark the person who gave it me was himself a most subtle courtier. I complained bitterly that I had so long been deprived of liberty, for a fault, which was usually punished by three, or, at the most, six days' arrest. Here, accordingly, I remained.

Eight days after, the king being come to Potsdam, I was sent, by General Bourke, to Berlin, to carry some letters, but without having seen the king. On my return, I presented myself to him on the parade; and, as our squadron was garrisoned at Berlin, I asked, "Does it please your majesty that I should go and join my corps?" "Whence come you?" answered he, "From Berlin." "And where were you before you went to Berlin?" "Under arrest." "Then under arrest you must remain."

I did not recover my liberty till three days before our departure for Silesia, towards which we marched, with the utmost speed, in the beginning of May, to commence our second campaign.

Here I must recount an event which happened that winter. Francis Baron Trenck, was the son of my father's brother, consequently, my cousin german. Being a commander of pandours in the Austrian service, and grievously wounded in Bavaria, in the year 1743, he wrote to my mother, informing her he intended me, her eldest son, for his universal legatee. This letter, to which I returned no answer, was sent me to Potsdam. I was so satisfied with my situation, and had such numerous reasons so to be, considering the kindness with which the king treated me, that I would not have exchanged my good fortune for all the treasures of the Great Mogul.

On the 12th of February, 1744, being at Berlin, I was in company with Captain Jaschinsky, commander of the body guard, the captain of which ranks as colonel in the army, together with Lieutenant Stednitz and Cornet Wagnitz. The latter was my field comrade, and is, at this present, commander-general of the cavalry of Hesse Cassel. The Austrian Trenck became the subject of conversation, and Jaschinsky asked if I was his kinsman. I answered yes, and immediately mentioned his having made me his universal

hair. "And what answer have you returned?" said Jaschinsky. "None at all."

The whole company then observed that, in a case like the present, I was much to blame not to answer; that the least I could do, would be to thank him for his good wishes, and entreat a continuance of them. Jaschinsky further added; "Desire him to send you some of his fine Hungarian horses, for your own use, and give me the letter; I will convey it to him, by means of Mr. Bossart, legation counsellor of the Saxon embassy; but on condition that you will give me one of the horses. This correspondence is a family, and not a state affair: beside that, I will be answerable for the consequences."

I immediately took my commander's advice, and began to write; and had those who suspected me thought proper to make the least inquiry into these circumstances, the four witnesses, who read what I wrote, could have attested my innocence, and rendered it indubitable. I gave my letter open to Jaschinsky, who sealed and sent it himself.

One of my grooms, with two led horses, was, among many others, taken by the pandours of Trenck. When I returned to the camp, I was to accompany the king on a reconnoitring party. My horse was too tired, and I had no other. I informed him of my embarrassment, and his majesty immediately made me a present of a fine English courser.

Some days after, I was exceedingly astonished to see my groom return with my two horses, and a pandour trumpeter, who brought me a letter containing nearly the following words:

"The Austrian Trenck is not at war with the Prussian Trenck, but, on the contrary, is happy to have recovered the horses from the hussars, and return them to whom they first belonged, &c."

I went the same day to pay my respects to the king, who, receiving me with great coolness, said, "Since

your cousin has returned your own horses, you have no more need of mine."

There were too many who envied me, to suppose these words would escape repetition. The return of the horses seems infinitely to have increased that suspicion Frederick entertained against me.

We marched for Silesia, to enter on our second campaign, which to the Prussians was as bloody and murderous as it was glorious.

The king's head quarters were fixed at the convent at Kamenz, where we rested fourteen days, and the army remained in cantonments. Prince Charles, instead of following us into Bohemia, had the imprudence to occupy the plain of Strigau, and we already concluded his army was beaten.

The army hastily left its cantonments, and in twenty-four hours was in order of battle; and on the 14th of June, eighteen thousand bodies lay stretched on the plain of Strigau. The allied armies of Austria and Saxony were totally defeated.

The body guard was on the right; and before the attack the king said to our squadron, "Prove, to-day, my children, that you are my body guard, and give no Saxon quarter."

We made three attacks on the cavalry, and two on the infantry. Nothing could withstand a squadron like this, which, for men, horses, courage, and experience, was assuredly the first in the world. Our corps alone took seven standards and five pair of colours, and in less than an hour the affair was over.

I received a pistol shot in my right hand; my horse was desperately wounded, and I was obliged to change on the third charge. The day after the battle all the officers were rewarded with the order of merit. For my own part, I remained four weeks among the wounded, at Schweidnitz, where there were sixteen thousand men under the torture of the army surgeons,

many of whom had not their wounds dressed till the third day.

It was near three months before I recovered the use of my hand; I nevertheless rejoined my corps; continued to perform my duty; and, as usual, accompanied the king when he went to reconnoitre. For some time past he had placed confidence in me, and his kindness towards me continually increased, which raised my gratitude even to enthusiasm.

I must here mention an adventure that happened at this time, and which will show the art of the great Frederick, in forming youth for his service, and devotedly attaching them to his person.

I was exceedingly fond of hunting, in which, notwithstanding it was severely forbidden, I indulged myself. Laden with pheasants, I one day returned; but judge my astonishment and fears, when I saw the army had decamped, and that it was with difficulty I could overtake the rear guard.

In this my distress I applied to an officer of hussars, who instantly lent me his horse, by the aid of which I rejoined my corps, which always marched as the vanguard. Mounting my own horse, I tremblingly rode to the head of my division, which it was my duty to precede. The king, however, had remarked my absence, or rather had been reminded of it by my superior officer, who for some time past had become my enemy.

Just as the army halted to encamp, the king rode towards me, made a signal for me to approach, and reading my fears in my countenance, said, with a smile, "What, are you just returned from hunting?" "Yes, your majesty—I hope"—here, interrupting me, he added, "Well, well, for this time I shall take no further notice, remembering Potsdam: but, however, let me find you more attentive to your duty."

I shall remark, the king took no more notice of my late fault, except that, sometimes when I had the

BARON F. TRENCK.

honour to dine with him, he would ridicule people who were too often at the chase, or who were so choleric, that they took occasion to quarrel for the least trifle.

If I mistake not, the famous battle of Soor, or Sorau, was fought on the 14th of September. The king had sent so many detachments into Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia, that the main army did not consist of more than twenty-six thousand men. Neglecting advice, and obstinate in judging his enemy by numbers, and not according to the excellence of discipline, and other accidents, Prince Charles, blind to the real strength of the Prussian armies, had enclosed this small number of Pomeranian and Brandenburg regiments, with more than eighty-six thousand men, intending to take them all prisoners.

The king came into my tent about midnight, as he also did into that of all the officers, to awaken them. His orders were, secretly to saddle, leave the baggage in the rear, and that the men should stand ready to mount at the word of command.

Lieutenant Studnitz and myself attended the king, who went in person, and gave directions through the whole army: meantime break of day was expected with anxiety.

Opposite the defile, through which the enemy were to march to the attack, eight field-pieces were concealed behind a hill. The king must necessarily have been informed of the whole plan of the Austrian general; for he had called in the advanced posts from the heights, that he might lull him into security, and make him imagine we should be surprised in the midst of sleep.

Scarcely did break of day appear, before the Austrian artillery, situated upon the heights, began to play upon our camp, and their cavalry to march through the defile to the attack.

As suddenly were we in battle array; for in less than ten minutes, we ourselves began the attack, notwithstanding our small number, the whole army only containing five regiments of cavalry, and fell with such fury upon the enemy, who at this time were wholly employed in forming their men at the mouth of the defile, and that slowly, little expecting so sudden and violent a charge, that we drove them back into the defile, where they pressed upon each other in crowds: the king himself stood ready to unmask his eight field-pieces, and a dreadful slaughter ensued in this narrow place, from which the enemy had not the power to retreat. This single incident gained the battle, and deceived all the hopes of Prince Charles.

Nadasti, Trenck, and the light troops, sent to attack our rear, were employed in pillaging the camp. The ferocious Croats met with no opposition, while this their error made our victory more secure. It deserves to be noticed, when advice was brought to the king, that the enemy had fallen upon, and were plundering the camp, his answer was, "So much the better; they have found themselves employment, and will be no impediment to our main design."

Our victory was complete, but all our baggage was lost; the head-quarters, utterly undefended, were totally stripped; and Trenck had, for his part of the booty, the king's tent, and his service of plate.

A few days after the battle of Sorau, the usual camp post-man brought me a letter from my cousin Trenck, the colonel of the pandours, dated at Essek, four months back, of which the following is a copy:

"Your letter of the 12th of February, from Berlin, informs me you desire to have some Hungarian horses. On these you would come and attack me and my pandours. I saw, with pleasure, during the last campaign, that the Prussian Trenck was also a good soldier; and, that I might give you some proofs of my attachment, I then returned the horses which my men had taken.

If, however, you wish to have Hungarian Horses, you must take mine, in like manner, from me, in the field of battle; or, should you so think fit, come and join one who will receive you with open arms, like his friend and son, and who will procure you every advantage you can desire," &c.

At first I was terrified at reading this letter, yet could not help smiling. Cornet Wagenitz, now general-in-chief of the Hesse Cassel forces, and Lieutenant Grotthausen, both now alive, and then present, were my camp comrades. I gave them the letter to read, and they laughed at its contents. It was determined to show it to our superior officer, Jaschinsky, on a promise of secrecy, and it was accordingly shown him within an hour after it was received.

The reader will be so kind as to recollect, that, as I have before said, it was this Colonel Jaschinsky who, on the 12th of February, the same year, at Berlin, prevailed on me to write to the Austrian Trenck, my cousin; that he received the letter open, and undertook to send it according to its address; also that, in this letter, I, in jest, had asked him to send me some Hungarian horses, and, when they came, had promised one to Jaschinsky. He read the letter with an air of some surprise; we laughed; and it being whispered through the army, that, in consequence of our late victory, detached corps would be sent into Hungary, Jaschinsky said, "We shall now go and take Hungarian horses for ourselves." Here the conversation ended, and I returned, little suspecting future consequences, to my tent.

The day after the receipt of this letter, I was, un-
heard, unaccused, unjudged, conducted like a criminal
from the army, by fifty hussars, and imprisoned in the
fortress of Glatz. I was allowed to take three horses,
and my servants, but my whole equipage was left be-
hind, which I never saw more, and which became the

booty of Jaschinsky. My commission was given to Cornet Schatzel, and I cashiered, without knowing why. There were no legal inquiries made—all was done by the king's command.

Unhappy people! where power is superior to law, and where the innocent and virtuous meet punishment, instead of reward. Unhappy land! where the omnipotent SUCH IS OUR WILL supersedes all legal sentence, and robs the subject of property, life and honour. I was not, however, thrown into a dungeon, but imprisoned in a chamber of the officer of the guard, was allowed my servant to wait on me, and permitted to walk on the ramparts.

I did not want money; and there was only a detachment from the garrison regiment in the citadel of Glatz, the officers of which were all poor. I soon had both friends and freedom, and the rich prisoner every day kept open table.

I wrote submissively to the king, requesting to be tried by a court-martial, and not desiring any favour, should I be found guilty. This haughty tone in a youth was displeasing, and I received no answer, which threw me into despair, and induced me to use every possible means to obtain my liberty.

My first care was to establish, by the intervention of an officer, a certain correspondence with the object of my heart. She answered she was far from supposing I had ever entertained the least thought traitorous to my country; that she knew too well I was perfectly incapable of dissimulation. She blamed the precipitate anger and unjust suspicions of the king, promised me speedy aid, and sent me a thousand ducats.

Five months passed away in prison. Peace was concluded; the king was returned to his capital; my commission in the guards was bestowed on another; when Lieutenant Piaschky, of the regiment of Fouquet, and Ensign Reitz, who often mounted guard over me,

proposed that they and I should escape together. I yielded; our plan was fixed, and every preparatory step taken.

At that time there was another prisoner at Glatz, whose name was Manget, by birth a Swiss, and captain of cavalry in the Natzmerschen hussars; he had been broken, and condemned by a court-martial to ten years' imprisonment, with an allowance of only four rix dollars per month.

Having done this man kindnesses, I was resolved to rescue him also from bondage at the same time with myself. I communicated my design, and made the proposal, which was accepted by him, and measures were taken; yet were we betrayed by this vile man, who thus obtained pardon and freedom.

Pinschky, who had been informed that Reitz was arrested, saved himself by deserting. I denied the fact in the presence of Manget, with whom I was confronted, and bribed the auditor with a hundred ducats. By this means Reitz only suffered a year's imprisonment and the loss of his commission. I was then closely confined in a chamber, for having endeavoured to corrupt the king's officers, and was guarded with greater caution.

Here I will relate an adventure which happened between me and this Captain Manget three years afterwards, at Warsaw.

I there met him by chance; and it is not difficult to imagine what was the salutation he received. I caned him; he took this ill, and challenged me to fight with pistols. Captain Haucking, of the Polish guards, was my second. I shot him through the neck at the first shot, and he fell dead on the field.

I return to my tale.—My window looked toward the city, and was ninety feet from the ground, in the tower of the citadel, out of which I could not get, without having found a place of refuge in the city.

This officer undertook to procure me, and prevailed on an honest soap-boiler to grant me a falling place. I then notched my penknife, and sawed through three large iron bars; but this was too tiresome a mode, it being necessary to file away eight bars from my window, before I could pass through; another officer procured me a file, which I was obliged to use with caution, lest I should be overheard by the sentinels.

Having ended this labour, I cut my leather portmantau into thongs, sewed them end to end, added the sheets of my bed, and descended safely from this astonishing height.

It rained, the night was dark, and all seemed fortunate; but I had to wade through moats full of mud, before I could enter the city, a circumstance I had never once considered. I sunk up to the knees, and after long struggling, and incredible efforts to get out, I was obliged myself to call the sentinel, and desire him to go and tell the governor, Trenck was stuck fast in the ditch.

My misfortune was the greater on this occasion, because that General Fouquet was then governor of Glatz. He was one of the cruelest of men. He had been wounded by my father in a duel; and the Austrian Trenck had taken his baggage in 1744, and also laid the country of Glatz under contribution. He was therefore an enemy to the very name of Trenck; nor did he lose any opportunity of giving me proofs of his enmity, and especially on the present occasion, when he left me standing in the mud till noon, the sport of the soldiers. I was then drawn out half dead, only again to be imprisoned, and shut up the whole day without water to wash me. No one can imagine how I looked; exhausted and dirty, my long hair having fallen into the mud, with which, by my struggling, it was loaded. I remained in this condition till the next day,

When two fellow-prisoners were sent to assist and clean me.

My imprisonment now became more intolerable. I had still eighty louis-d'ors in my purse, which had not been taken from me at my removal into another dungeon, and these afterward did me good service.

Eight days had not elapsed since my last fruitless attempt to escape, when an event happened, which would appear incredible were I, the principal actor in the scene, not alive to attest its truth, and might not all Glatz and the Prussian army be produced as eye and ear witnesses.

Major Doo* came to visit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard and an adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he addressed me, taxing me with a second crime, in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this must certainly increase the anger of the king.

My blood boiled at the word crime. He talked of patience. I asked how long the king had condemned me to imprisonment. He answered, a traitor to his country, who had corresponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time, but must depend for grace and pardon on the king.

At that instant I snatched his sword from his side, on which my eyes had some time been fixed, sprang

* The same Doo who was governor of Glatz during the seven years' war, and who, having been surprised by General Laudohn, was made prisoner, which occasioned the loss of Glatz. The king broke him with infamy, and banished him with contempt. In 1764 he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms. He was by birth an Italian—a selfish, wicked man; and, while major under the government of Fouquet at Glatz, brought many people to misery. He was the creature of Fouquet, without birth or merit—crafty, malignant, but handsome; and, having debauched his patron's daughter, afterwards married her; whence at first his good, and at length his ill fortune. He wanted knowledge to defend a fortress against the enemy, and his covetousness rendered him easy to corrupt.

lost of the door, threw the sentinel from the top to the bottom of the stairs, passed the guard, who happened to be drawn up before the prison door to relieve guard, attacked them sword in hand, threw them suddenly into surprise by the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four men, made my way through the rest, sprang over the breast-work of the ramparts, and, with my sword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this astonishing height, without receiving the least injury. I leaped the second wall with equal safety and good fortune. None of their arms were loaded; no one durst leap after me; in order to pursue, they must go round through the town and the gate of the citadel; so that I had the start full half an hour.

A sentinel, however, in a narrow passage, endeavoured to oppose my flight; but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second sentinel, in the mean time, came from the out-works to seize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the palisades; there I was unluckily caught by the feet, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, they beat me with the but-end of their muskets, and dragged me back to prison.

The severities of my imprisonment were increased. Two sentinels and an under officer were locked in with me, and were themselves guarded by sentinels without. I was beaten and wounded with the but-end of their muskets; my right foot was sprained; I spit blood; and my wounds were not cured in less than a month.

I was now first informed the king had only condemned me to a year's imprisonment, in order to learn whether his suspicions were well founded. My mother had petitioned for me, and was answered, "Your son must remain a year imprisoned, as a punishment for his rash correspondence."

Of this I was ignorant; and it was said in Glatz my imprisonment was for life. I had only three weeks

longer to repine at the loss of liberty, when I made this rash attempt.

Once more then was I in a dungeon, and no sooner was I there, than I formed new projects of flight. I first gained the intimacy of my guards. I had money, and this, with the compassion I had inspired, might effect any thing among discontented Prussian soldiers. Soon had I gained thirty-two men, who were ready to execute, on the first signal, whatever I should command; two or three excepted, they were unacquainted with each other; they, consequently, could not all be betrayed at a time; and I had chosen the under officer, Nicholai to head them.

The garrison consisted only of one hundred and twenty men, from the garrison regiment; the rest being dispersed in the country of Glatz, and four officers their commanders, three of whom were in my interest. Every thing was prepared. Swords and pistols were concealed in an oven which was in my prison. We intended to give liberty to all the prisoners, and retire, by beat of drum, into Bohemia.

Unfortunately, an Austrian deserter, to whom Nicholai had imparted our design, went and discovered our conspiracy. The governor instantly sent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders, that the officer on guard should arrest Nicholai, and, with his men, take possession of the casement.

Nicholai was one of the guard, and the lieutenant was my friend, and, being in the secret, gave the signal that all was discovered. Nicholai only knew all the conspirators, several of whom were that day on guard. He instantly formed his resolution; leaped into the casements, crying, "Comrades, to arms! we are betrayed." All followed to the guard-house, where they seized on the cartridges, the officer having only eight men, and threatening to fire on whoever would offer resistance, came to deliver me from prison; but the iron door was too strong, and the time too short, for

that to be demolished. Nicholai, calling to me, bade me aid them, but in vain; and perceiving nothing more could be done for me, this brave man, heading nineteen others, marched to the gate of the citadel, where there was an under officer and ten soldiers, obliged these to accompany him, and thus arrived safely at Braunau, in Bohemia; for before the news was spread through the city, and men were collected for the pursuit, they were nearly half way on their journey.

Two years after I met with this extraordinary man at Offenbourg, where he was a writer. He entered immediately into my service, and became my friend, but died some months after of a burning fever, at my quarters in Hungary, at which I was deeply grieved; for his memory will ever be dear to me.

Now was I exposed to all the storms of ill fortune. A prosecution was entered against me as a conspirator, who wanted to corrupt the officers and soldiers of the king. They commanded me to name the remaining conspirators: but to these questions I made no answer, except by steadfastly declaring I was an innocent prisoner, an officer unjustly broken; unjustly, because I had never been brought to trial; that, consequently, I was released from all my engagements; nor could it be thought extraordinary that I should avail myself of that law of nature, which gives every man a right to defend his honour defamed, and seek, by every possible means, to regain his liberty; that such had been my sole purpose in every enterprise I had formed, and such should still continue to be, for I was determined on the pursuit, till I should either be crowned with success, or lose my life in the attempt.

Things thus remained; every precaution was taken, except that I was not put in irons; it being a law in Prussia, that no gentleman or officer can be loaded with chains, unless he has first, for some crime, been delivered over to the executioner, and certainly this had not been my case.

The soldiers were withdrawn from my chamber; but the greatest ill was, I had expended all my money, and my kind mistress at Berlin, with whom I had always corresponded, and which my persecutors could not prevent, at last wrote—

“My tears flow with yours; the evil is without remedy—I dare say no more—escape if you can. My fidelity will ever be the same, when it shall be possible for me to serve you. Adieu, unhappy friend! you merit a better fate.”

This letter was a thunderbolt. My comfort, however, still was, that the officers were not suspected, and that it was their duty to visit my chamber several times a day, and examine what passed; from which circumstance I felt my hopes somewhat revive. Hence an adventure happened, which is almost unexampled in tales of knight errantry.

A lieutenant, whose name was Bach, a Dane by nation, mounted guard every fourth day, and was the terror of the whole garrison; for, being a perfect master of arms, he was incessantly involved in quarrels, and generally left his marks behind him. He had served in two regiments, neither of which would associate with him for this reason; and he had been sent to the garrison regiment at Glatz as a punishment.

Bach, one day sitting beside me, related how, the evening before, he had wounded a lieutenant, of the name of Schell, in the arm. I replied, laughing, “Had I my liberty, I believe you would find some trouble in wounding me, for I have some skill in the sword.” The blood instantly flew in his face; we split off a kind of pair of foils from an old door, which had served me as a table; and, at the first lunge, I hit him on the breast.

His rage became ungovernable, and he left the prison. What was my astonishment, when, a moment after, I saw him return with two soldier’s swords, which he had concealed under his coat. “Now, then,

hammer, prove" said he, giving me one of them, "what thou art able to do." I endeavoured to pacify him, by representing the danger, but ineffectually. He attacked me with the utmost fury, and I wounded him in the arm.

Throwing his sword down, he now fell upon my neck, kissed me, and wept. At length, after some convulsive emotions of pleasure, he said, "Friend, thou art my master; and thou must, thou shalt, by my aid, obtain thy liberty, as certainly as my name is Bach." We bound up his arm as well as we could. He left me, and secretly went to a surgeon to have it properly dressed, and at night returned.

He now remarked, that it was humanly impossible I should escape, unless the officer on guard should desert with me; that he wished nothing more ardently, than to sacrifice his life in my behalf; but that he could not resolve so far to forget his honour and duty to desert himself while on guard. He notwithstanding gave me his word and honour he would find me such a person in a few days; and that, in the mean time, he would prepare every thing for my flight.

He returned the same evening, bringing with him Lieutenant Schell, and, as he entered, said, "Here is your man." Schell embraced me, gave me his word of honour, and thus was the affair settled, and, as it proved, my liberty ascertained.

We now began to deliberate on the means necessary to obtain our purpose. Schell was just come from garrison at Habelschwert, to the citadel of Glatz, and in two days was to mount guard over me, till when our attempt was suspended. My purse at present only contained some six pistoles: it was therefore resolved, that Bach should go to Schweidnitz, and obtain money of a sure friend of mine in that city.

Here must I inform the reader, that at this time the officers and I all understood each other, Captain Roder

alone excepted, who was exact, rigid, and gave trouble on all occasions.

Major Quadt was my kinsman, by my mother's side; a good, friendly man, and ardently desirous I should escape, seeing my calamities were now so much increased. The four lieutenants, who successively mounted guard over me, were Bach, Schroeder, Lunitz, and Schell. The first was the grand projector, and made all the preparations; Schell was to desert with me; and Schroeder and Lunitz three days after were to follow.

The talents of Schell were of a superior order; he spoke and wrote six languages, and was well acquainted with all the fine arts. He had served in the regiment of Fouquet; had been injured by his colonel, who was a Pomeranian, and Fouquet, who was no friend to well-informed officers, had sent him to a garrison regiment. He had twice demanded his dismissal, but the king sent him to this species of imprisonment. He then determined to avenge himself by deserting, and was ready to aid me in recovering my freedom, that he might thereby spite Fouquet.

We determined every thing should be prepared against the first time Schell mounted guard, and that our project should be executed on the next.

Thus, as he mounted guard every four days, the eighth was to be that of our flight.

The governor, meantime, had been informed how familiar I was become with the officers; at which, taking offence, he sent orders that my door should no more be opened, but that I should receive my food through a small window, that had been made for that purpose. The care of the prison was committed to the major, and he was forbidden to eat with me, under the pain of being broken.

His precautions were ineffectual; the officers procured a false key, and remained with me half the day and night.

Beside my prison was that of Captain Damnitz. This man had deserted from the Prussian service, with the men belonging to his company, to Austria, where he obtained a commission in his country's regiment, who having prevailed on him to serve as a spy during the campaign of 1744, he was taken in the Prussian territories, known, and condemned to be hanged.

Some Swedish volunteers, who were then in the army, interested themselves in his behalf, and his sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment, with a sentence of infamy.

This wretch, who, two years after, by his protectors, not only obtained his liberty, but a lieutenant-colonel's commission, was then the secret spy of the major over the prisoners; and he remarked, that, notwithstanding the express prohibition laid on the officers, they still passed the greater part of their time in my company.

The 24th of December came, and Schell mounted guard. He entered my prison immediately, where he continued a long time, and we made our arrangements for flight when he next should mount guard.

Lieutenant Schroeder that day dined with the governor, and heard orders given to the adjutant, that Schell should be taken from the guard, and put under arrest.

Schroeder, who was in the secret, had no doubt but that we were betrayed, not knowing that the spy Damnitz had informed the governor that Schell was then in my chamber.

Schroeder, full of terror, came running to the citadel, and said to Schell, "Save thyself, friend; all is discovered, and thou wilt instantly be put under arrest."

Schell might easily have provided for his own safety, by flying singly, Schroeder having prepared horses, one of which he himself offered to accompany him into Bohemia.

How did this worthy man, in a moment so dangerous, act towards his friend?

Running suddenly into my prison, he drew a corporal's sabre from under his coat, and said, "Friend, we are betrayed—follow me, only do not suffer me to fall alive into the hands of my enemies."

I would have spoken; but, interrupting me, and taking me by the hand, he added, "Fellow me—we have not a moment to lose." I therefore slipped on my coat and boots, without having time to take the little money I had left; and, as we went out of the prison, Schell said to the sentinel, "I am taking the prisoner into the officer's apartment; stand where you are."

Into this room we really went, but passed out at the other door. The design of Schell was to go under the arsenal, which was not far off, to gain the covered way, leap the palisadoes, and afterwards escape the best we might.

We had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we met the adjutant and Major Quaadt.

Schell started back, sprang upon the rampart, and leaped from the wall, that was there not very high. I followed, and lighted unhurt, except having grazed my shoulder. My poor friend was not so fortunate, having put out his ankle. He immediately drew his sword, presented it to me, and begged me to despatch him, and fly. He was a small, weak man: but, far from complying with his request, I took him in my arms, threw him over the palisadoes, afterwards got him on my back, and began to run, without very well knowing which way I went.

The sun had just set as we took to flight; the hoar frost fell. No one would run the same risk we had done, by making so dangerous a leap. We heard a terrible noise behind us. Every body knew us; but before they could go round the citadel, and through

the town, in order to pursue us, we had got a full half league.

The alarm guns were fired before we were a hundred paces distant; at which my friend was very much terrified, knowing that in such cases it was generally impossible to escape from Glatz, unless the fugitives had got the start full two hours before the alarm guns were fired, the pass being immediately all stopped by the peasants and hussars, who are exceedingly vigilant. No sooner is a prisoner missed, than the gunner runs from the guard-house, and fires the cannon on the three sides of the fortress, which are kept loaded day and night for that purpose.

We were not five hundred paces from the wall, when all before us and behind us were in motion.

Among the officers commanded to pursue us, was Lieutenant Bárt, my intimate friend. Captain Zerbst, of the regiment of Fouquet, who had always testified the kindness of a brother towards me, met us on the Bohemian frontiers, and called to me—"Make to the left, brother, and you will see some lone houses, which are on the Bohemian confines; the hussars have rode straight forward." He then passed on as if he had not seen us.

We distinctly heard the alarm sounded in the villages; and the peasants, who likewise were to form the line of desertion, were every where in motion, and spreading the alarm. As it may not be known to all my readers in what manner they proceed on these occasions in Prussia, I will here give a short account of it.

Officers are daily named on the parade, whose duty it is to follow fugitives, as soon as the alarm guns are fired.

The peasants in the villages likewise are daily appointed to run to the guard of certain posts. The officers immediately fly to these posts to see that the

peasants do their duty, and prevent the prisoner's escape. Thus does it seldom happen, that a soldier can effect his escape, unless he be, at the very least, an hour on the road before the alarm guns are fired.

I came to the Neiss, which was a little frozen, entered it with my friend; carried him as long as I could wade, and, when I could not feel the bottom, which was not for more than eighteen feet, he clung round me, and thus we got safely to the other shore.

My father taught all his sons to swim, for which I have often had to thank him; since, by means of this art, which is easily learned in childhood, I had on various occasions preserved my life, and was more bold in danger.

The reader will easily suppose swimming in the midst of December, and remaining afterwards eighteen hours in the open air, was a severe hardship. About seven o'clock the hoar fog was succeeded by frost and moonlight. The carrying of my friend kept me warm, it is true; but I began to be tired, while he suffered every thing that frost, the pain of a dislocated foot, which I in vain endeavoured to reset, and the danger of death from a thousand hands, could inflict.

We were somewhat more tranquil, however, having reached the opposite shore of the Neiss, since nobody would pursue us on the road to Silesia. I followed the course of the river for half an hour; and, having once passed the first villages that formed the line of desertion, with which Schell was perfectly acquainted, we, in a lucky moment, found a fisherman's boat moored to the shore; into this we leaped, crossed the river again, and soon gained the mountains.

Here being come, we sat ourselves down awhile on the snow; hope revived in our hearts, and we held council concerning how it was best to act. I cut a stick to assist Schell in hopping forward as well as he could, when I was tired of carrying him; and thus we

continued our route, the difficulties of which were increased by the mountain snows.

Thus passed the night, during which, up to the middle in snow, we made but little way. There were no paths to be traced in the mountains; and they were in many places impassable. Day at length appeared. We thought ourselves near the frontiers, which are twenty English miles from Glatz, when we suddenly, to our great terror, heard the clock strike.

Overwhelmed as we were by hunger, cold, fatigue, and pain, it was impossible we should hold out through the day. After some consideration, and another half hour's labour, we came to a village at the foot of the mountain, on the side of which, about three hundred paces from us, we perceived two separate houses, which inspired us with a stratagem that was successful.

We lost our hats in leaping the ramparts; but Schell had preserved his scarf and gorget, which would give him authority among the peasants.

I then cut my finger, rubbed the blood over my face, my shirt, and my coat, and bound up my head, to give me the appearance of a man dangerously wounded.

In this condition, I carried Schell to the end of the wood, not far from these houses; here he tied my hands behind my back, but so that I could easily disengage them in case of need; and hobbled after me, by aid of his staff, calling for help.

Two old peasants appeared, and Schell commanded them to run to the village, and tell a magistrate to come immediately with a cart. "I have seized this knave," added he, "who has killed my horse, and, in the struggle, put out my ankle; however, I have wounded and bound him; fly quickly, bring a cart, lest he should die before he is hanged."

As for me, I suffered myself to be led, as if half dead, into the house. A peasant was despatched to the vil-

lage. An old woman and a pretty girl seemed to take great pity on me, and gave me some bread and milk ; but how great was our astonishment, when the aged peasant called Schell by his name, and told him he well knew we were deserters, having the night before been at a neighbouring ale-house, where the officer in pursuit of us came, named and described us, and related the whole history of our flight ! The peasant knew Schell, because his son served in his company, and had often spoken of him.

Presence of mind and resolution were all that were now left. I instantly ran to the stable, while Schell detained the peasant in the chamber. He, however, was a worthy man, and directed him the roads towards Bohemia. We were still but about some seven miles from Glatz, having lost ourselves among the mountains, where we had wandered many miles. The daughter followed me ; I found three horses in the stable, but no bridles. I conjured her in the most passionate manner to assist me. She was affected, seemed half willing to follow me, and gave me the two bridles. I led the horses to the door, called Schell, and helped him with his lame leg on horseback. The old peasant then began to weep, and beg I would not take his horses ; but he luckily wanted courage, and perhaps the will, to impede us ; for, with a single dung-fork, in our then feeble condition, he might have stopped us long enough to have called in assistance from the village.

And now behold us on horseback, without hats or saddles ; Schell, with his uniform scarf and gorget, and I in my red body guard coat. Still were we in danger of seeing all our hopes vanish, for my horse would not stir from the stable. However, at last, good horseman like, I made him move. Schell led the way, and we had scarcely gone a hundred paces, before we perceived the peasants coming in crowds from the village.

As kind fortune would have it, the people were all at church, it being a festival; the peasants Schell had sent were obliged to call aid out of church. It was but nine in the morning; and had the peasants been at home, we had been lost without hope.

We were obliged to take the road to Wunshelburg, and pass through the town where Schell had been quartered a month before, and every body knew him. Our dress, without hats or saddles, sufficiently proclaimed we were deserters. Our horses, however, continued to go tolerably well, and we had the good luck to get through the town, although there was a garrison of one hundred and eighty infantry, and twelve horse, purposely to arrest deserters. Schell knew the road to Braunau, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, after having met, as I before mentioned, Captain Zerst.

Thus, in freedom at Braunau, on the Bohemian frontiers, I sent the two horses, with the corporal's sword, back to General Fouquet, at Glatz. The letter accompanying them was so pleasing to him, that all the sentinels before my prison door, as well as the guards under arms, and all those we passed, were obliged to run the gantlet, although, the very day before, he had himself declared my escape was now rendered impossible.

The estates which had been purchased by the blood of my forefathers were confiscated; and thus was a youth, of one of the noblest families in the land, whose heart was all zeal for the service of his king and country, and who was among those most capable to render them service, banished, by this unjust and misled king, and treated like the worst of miscreants, malefactors, and traitors.

I wrote to the king, and sent him a true state of my case; sent indubitable proofs of my innocence, and supplicated justice, but received no answer.

Major Doo, who, as I have said, was the creature of Fouquet, a mean and covetous man, knowing I had money, had always acted the part of a protector, as he pretended to me, and continually told me I was condemned for life. He perpetually turned the conversation on the great credit of his general with the king, and his own great credit with the general. For the present of a horse, on which I rode to Glatz, he gave me the freedom of walking about the fortress; and for another, worth a hundred ducats, I rescued Ensign Reitz from death, who had been betrayed, when endeavouring to effect our escape. I have been assured, that on that very day on which I snatched his sword from his side, desperately passed through the garrison, and leaped the walls of the rampart, he was expressly come to tell me, after some prefatory threats, that, by his general's intercession, my punishment was only to be a year's imprisonment, and that, consequently, I should be released in a few days.

And now was I in Bohemia, a fugitive stranger, without money, protector, or friend, and only twenty years of age.

In the campaign of 1744, I had been quartered at Brannau, with a weaver, whom I advised and assisted to bury his effects, and preserve them from being plundered. The worthy man received us with joy and gratitude.

I had but a single louis-d'or in my purse, and Schell forty kreutzers, or some three shillings; with this small sum, in a strange country, we had to cure his sprain, and provide for all our wants.

I was determined not to go to my cousin Trenck at Vienna. I wrote to my mistress at Berlin, but received no answer; possibly because I could not indicate any certain mode of conveyance. My mother believed me guilty, and abandoned me: my brothers were still

minors; and my friend at Schweidnitz could not aid me, being gone to Königsberg.

After three weeks' abode at Braunau, my friend recovered of his lameness. We had been obliged to sell my watch, with his scarf and gorget, and had only four florins remaining.

Never till now had I felt any inconvenience from poverty; my wants had been amply supplied, and I had ever lived among, and been highly loved and esteemed by, the first people of the land. I was now destitute, without aid, and undetermined how to seek employment or obtain fame.

At length I determined to travel on foot to Prussia, to try my mother, and obtain money from her, and afterward enter into the Russian service. Schell, whose destiny was linked to mine, would not forsake me. We assumed false names. I called myself Knert, and Schell, Lesch; then, obtaining passports like common deserters, we left Braunau on the 21st of January, in the evening, unseen of any person, and proceeded towards Bilitz, in Poland. A friend I had at Neurode gave me a pair of pocket-pistols, a musket, and three ducats. The money was spent at Braunau. Here let me take occasion to remark, I had lent this friend, in urgent necessity, a hundred ducats, which he still owed me; and, when I sent to request payment, he returned me three, as if I had asked charity.

Though a circumstantial description of our travels would alone fill a volume, I shall only relate the most singular accidents which happened to us. I shall also insert the journal of our route, which my friend Schell had preserved, and gave me in 1776, when he came to see me, at Aix-la-Chapelle, after an absence of thirty years.

JOURNAL

Of Travels on foot from Braunau, in Bohemia, through Bilitz, in Poland, to Meseritz; and from Meseritz, by Thorn, to Elbing; in the whole, 169 miles: performed without begging or stealing.

Jan. 18th, 1747. From Braunau, by Politz, to Nachod, three miles, we having three florins forty-five kreutzers in one purse.

Jan. 19. To Neustadt. Here Schell bartered his uniform for an old coat, and a Jew gave him two florins fifteen kreutzers in exchange. From hence we went to Reichenau; in all three miles.

Jan. 20. We went to Leutomischel, five miles. Here I bought a loaf hot out of the oven, which, eating greedily, had nearly caused my death. This obliged us to rest a day, and the extravagant charge of the landlord almost emptied our purse.

Jan. 22. From Tribau to Zwittwa, in Moravia, four miles.

Jan. 23. To Sternberg, six miles. This day's journey excessively fatigued poor Schell; his sprained ankle being still very weak.

Jan. 24. To Leibnitz, four miles; in a deep snow, and with empty stomachs. Here I sold my stock-buckle for four florins.

Jan. 25. To Fryberg, by Weiskirch, to Dratechusch, five miles. Early in the morning, we found a violin and case on the road. The inn-keeper in Weiskirch gave us two florins for it, on condition that he should

* The German mile contains from four to seven English miles, and this variation appears to depend on the ignorance of the people, and on the roads being in some places but little frequented. It seems probable, the baron and his friend might have travelled about 800 English miles.

return it to the owner, on proving his right, it being worth at least twenty.

Jan. 26. To Freideck, in Upper Silesia, two miles.

Jan. 27. To a village, four miles and a half.

Jan. 28. Through Schotscha to Bilitz, three miles.

This was the last Austrian town on the frontiers of Poland; and Captain Capi, of the regiment of Marischall, who commanded the garrison, demanded our passports. We had false names, and called ourselves common Prussian deserters; but a drummer, who had deserted from Glatz, knew us, and betrayed us to the captain, who immediately arrested us very rudely, and sent us on foot to Teschin, refusing us a hearing, four miles distant.

Here we found Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Schwarzer, a perfectly worthy man, who was highly interested in our behalf, and who blamed the irregular, arbitrary conduct of Captain Capi. I frankly related my adventures, and he used every possible argument to persuade me, instead of continuing my journey through Poland, to go to Vienna; but in vain.

I returned, therefore, a second time to Bilitz, travelling these four miles once more. Schwarzer lent us his own horse, and four ducats, which I have since repaid, but which I shall never forget, as they were of signal service to me, and procured me a pair of new boots.

Irritated against Captain Capi, we passed through Bilitz, without stopping, went immediately to Biala, the first town in Poland, and from thence sent Capi a challenge to fight me, with sword or pistol, but received no answer.

Feb. 1. We proceeded four miles, from Biala to Oswintzin, I having determined to ask aid from my sister, who had married ~~V~~ ~~W~~, and lived much at her ease, at a fine estate at Hammar, in Brandenburg, between Landsberg, on the Warta, and Meseritz,

a frontier town of Poland. For this reason, we continued our route all along the Silesian confines, to Meseritz.

Feb. 2. To Bobrek and Elkus, five miles. We suffered much this day, because of the snow, and that the lightness of our dress was ill suited to such severe weather. Schell negligently lost our purse, in which were nine florins. I had still, however, nineteen grosch in my pocket (about half a crown.)

Feb. 3. To Crumelw, three miles; and

Feb. 4. To Wladowiegud Joreck, three miles more; and from thence, on

Feb. 5. To Czenstochowa, where there is a magnificent convent, concerning which, had I room, I might write many remarkable things, much to the disgrace of its inhabitants.

We slept at an inn kept by a very worthy man, whose name was Lazar. He had been a lieutenant in the Austrian service, where he had suffered much, and was now become a poor inn-keeper in Poland. We had not a penny in our purse, and requested a bit of bread. The generous man had compassion on us, and desired us to sit down, and eat with himself. I then told him who we were, and intrusted him with the motives of our journey. Scarcely had we supped, before a carriage arrived with four people. They had their own horses, a servant and a coachman.

We had before met this carriage at Elkus, and one of these people had asked Schell where we were going. He had replied, to Czenstochowa; we therefore had not the least suspicion of them, notwithstanding the danger we ran.

They lay at the inn, saluted us, but with indifference, not seeming to notice us, and spoke little. We had not been long in bed before our host came to awaken us, and told us, with surprise, these pretended merchants were sent to arrest us, from Prussia; that they had offered, first, fifty, afterwards, a hundred ducats,

if he would permit them to take us in his house, and carry us into Silesia; that he had firmly rejected the proposal, though they had increased their promises; and that, at last, they had given him six ducats to engage silence.

We clearly saw these were an officer and under officers sent by General Fouquet to recover us.—We conjectured by what means they had discovered our route, and imagined the information they had received could only come from one Lieutenant Mollinie, of the garrison of Habelschwert, who had come to visit Schell, as a friend, during our stay at Braunau. He had remained with us two days, and had asked many questions concerning the road we should take, and he was the only one who knew it. He was probably the spy of Fouquet, and the cause of what happened afterwards, which however ended in the defeat of our enemies.

The moment I heard of this infamous treachery, I was for entering with my pistols primed into the enemy's chamber; but was prevented by Schell and Lazar: the latter entreated me, in the strongest manner, to remain at his house till I should receive a supply from my mother, that I might be enabled to continue my journey with more ease and less danger: but his entreaties were ineffectual; I was determined to see her, uncertain as I was of what effect my letter had produced. Lazar assured me, we should most infallibly be attacked on the road. "So much the better," retorted I; "that will give me an opportunity of despatching them, sending them to the other world, and shooting them as I would highwaymen." They departed at break of day, and took the road to Warsaw.

We would have been gone likewise, but Lazar in some sort forcibly detained us, and gave us the six ducats he had received from the Prussians, with which we bought us each a shirt, another pair of pocket pistols, and other urgent necessities; then took an affectionate leave of the host, who directed us on our

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way, and we testified our gratitude for the great services done us.

Feb. 6. From Czenstochowa to Dankow, two miles. Here we expected an attack. Lazar had told us our enemies had but one musket. I also had a musket and an excellent sabre, and each of us was provided with a pair of pistols.

Feb. 7. We took the road to Parszemechi; we had not been an hour on the road before we saw a carriage. As we drew near, we knew it to be that of our enemies, who pretended it was set in the snow. They were round it, and, when they saw us approach, began to call for help. This we guessed was an artifice to entrap us. Schell was not strong; they would all have fallen upon me, and we should easily have been carried off, for they wanted to take us alive.

We left the causeway about thirty paces, answering, "We had not time to give them help;" at which they all ran to their carriage, drew out their pistols, and, returning full speed after us, called, "Stop, rascals!" We began to run, but I, suddenly turning round, presented my piece, and shot the nearest dead on the spot. Schell fired his pistols; our opposers did the same, and Schell received a ball in the neck at this discharge. It was now my turn. I took out my pistols; one of the assailants fled, and I, enraged, pursued him three hundred paces, overtook him, and, as he was defending himself with his sword, perceiving he bled, and made but a feeble resistance, pressed upon him, and gave him a stroke that brought him down. I instantly returned to Schell, whom I found in the power of two others, that were dragging him towards the carriage; but, when they saw me at their heels, they fled over the fields. The coachman, perceiving which way the battle went, leaped on his box, and drove off full speed.

Schell, though delivered, was wounded with a ball in the neck, and by a cut in the right hand, which had

made him drop his sword, though he affirmed he had run one of his adversaries through.

I took a silver watch from the man I had killed, and was going to make free with his purse, when Schell called; and showed me a coach and six coming down a hill. To stay would have exposed us to have been imprisoned as highwaymen; for the two fugitives, who had escaped us, would certainly have borne witness against us. Safety could only be found in flight. I however seized the musket and hat of him I had first killed, and we then gained the copse, and after that the forest. The road was round about, and it was night before we reached Parsemechi.

Schell was besmeared with blood; I had bound up his wound the best I could; but in Polish villages no surgeons are to be found, and he performed his journey with great difficulty. We met with two Saxon under officers here, who were recruiting for the regiment of guards at Dresden. My six feet height and person pleased them, and they immediately made themselves acquainted with me. I found them intelligent, and intrusted them with our secret, told them who we were, related the battle we had that day had with our pursuers, and I had not reason to repent of my confidence in them. Schell had his wounds dressed; and we remained seven days with these good Saxons, who faithfully kept us company.

I learned, mean time, that, of the four men by whom we had been assaulted, one only and the coachman returned alive to Glatz. The name of the officer, who undertook this vile business, was Gerfdorf; he had a hundred and fifty ducats in his pocket when found dead. How great would our fortune have been, had not that cursed coach and six by its appearance made us take to flight, since the booty would have been more just! Fortune this time did not favour the innocent; and, though traitorously attacked, I was obliged to escape like a guilty wretch. We sold the

watch to a Jew for four ducats, the hat for three florins and a half, and the musket for a ducat, Schell being unable to carry it farther. We left most of this money behind us at Parsemechi. A Jew surgeon sold us some dear plasters, which we took with us, and departed.

Feb. 15. From Parsemechi, through Vielum, to Biala, four miles.

Feb. 16. Through Jeriachow to Micorsen, four miles and a half.

Feb. 17. To Osterkow and Schwarzwald, three miles.

Feb. 18. To Sdunc, four miles.

Feb. 19. To Goblin, two miles.

Here we arrived wholly destitute of money. I sold my coat to a Jew, who gave me four florins, and a coarse wagoner's frock, in exchange, which I did not think I should long need, as we now drew nearer to where my sister lived, and where I hoped I should be better equipped. Schell, however, grew weaker and weaker; his wounds healed slowly, and were expensive: the cold also was injurious to him; and, as he was not by nature cleanly in his person, his body soon became the harbour of every species of vermin to be picked up in Poland. We often arrived wet and weary to our smoky reeking stove-room. Often were we obliged to lie on straw or the bare boards; and the various hardships we suffered were almost incredible. Wandering as we did, in the midst of winter, through Poland, where humanity, hospitality, and gentle pity, are scarcely so much as known by name; where merciless Jews deny the poor traveller a bed; and where we disconsolately strayed without bread, and almost naked. These were sufferings, the full extent of which he only can conceive, by whom they have been felt. My musket now and then procured us an occasional meal of tame geese, and cocks and hens, when these were to be had; otherwise we never took or touched

any thing that was not our own. We met with Saxons and Russian recruiters at various places; all of whom on account of my youth and stature, were eager to inveigle me. I was highly diverted to hear them enumerate all the possibilities of future greatness, and how liable I was hereafter to become a corporal. Nor was I less merry with their mead, ale, and brandy, given with an intent to make me drunk. Thus had we many artifices to guard against; but thus had we likewise, very luckily for us, many a good meal gratis.

Feb. 21. We went from Goblin to Pugnitz, three miles and a half.

Feb. 22. Through Storchnest to Schmiegel, four miles.

Here happened a singular adventure. The peasants at this place were dancing to a vile scraper on the violin. I took the instrument myself, and played while they continued their hilarity. They were much pleased with my playing: but when I was tired, and desirous to have done, they obliged me, first by importunities, and afterwards by threats, to play on all night. I was so fatigued I thought I should have fainted: at length they quarrelled among themselves. Schell was sleeping on a bench, and some of them fell on his wounded hand. He rose furious; I seized our arms, began to lay about me, and, while all was in confusion, we escaped without further ill treatment.

Feb. 23. From Schmiegel to Rakonitz; and from thence to Karzer Holland, four miles and a half. Here we sold, to prevent dying of hunger, a shirt and Schell's waistcoat, for eighteen grosch, or nine schostack. I had shot a pullet the day before, which necessity obliged us to eat raw. I also killed a crow, which I devoured alone, Schell refusing to taste.

Feb. 24. We came through Benzen to Lettel, four miles. Here we halted a day to learn the road to Harzner, in Brandenburg, where my sister lived. I

happened luckily to meet with the wife of a Prussian soldier who lived at Lettel, and belonged to Kolschen, where she was born a vassal of my sister's husband. I told her who I was, and she became our guide.

Feb. 26. To Kurschen and Falkenwalde.

Feb. 27. Through Neuendorf and Oest, and afterwards through a pathless wood, five miles and a half, to Hammer; and here I knocked at my sister's door, at nine o'clock in the evening.

A maid servant came to the door whom I knew; her name was Mary, and she had been born and brought up in my father's house. She was terrified at seeing a sturdy fellow in a beggar's dress; which perceiving, I asked, "Molly, do not you know me?" She answered, "No;" and I then discovered myself to her. I asked whether my brother-in-law was at home; Mary replied, "Yes, but he is sick in bed." "Tell my sister then," said I, "that I am here." She showed me into a room, and my sister presently came.

She was alarmed at seeing me, not knowing that I had escaped from Glatz, and ran to inform her husband, but did not return.

A quarter of an hour after the good Mary came weeping, and told us her master commanded us to quit the premises instantly, or he should be obliged to have us arrested, and delivered up as prisoners. My sister's husband forcibly detained her, and I saw her no more.

I furiously left the house, uttering a thousand menaces against its inhabitants, while the kind hearted Mary, still weeping, slipped three ducats into my hand, which I accepted.

And now behold us once more in the woods, which were not above a hundred paces from the house, half dead with hunger and fatigue, not daring to enter any habitation while in the states of Brandenburg, and dragging our weary steps all night in snow and rain, until our guide at length brought us back at day-break once more to the town of Lettel.

She herself wept in pity at our fate, and I could only give her two ducats for the danger she had run; but I bade her hope more in future; and I afterwards sent for her to Vienna, in 1751, where I took great care of her.

Deceived in the aid I expected, I was obliged to change my plan, and go to my mother, who lived in Prussia, nine miles beyond Königsberg.

Feb. 28. We continued, tired, anxious and distressed, at Lettel.

March 1. We went three miles to Plesse, and on

March 2. A mile and a half farther to Meseritz.

March 3. Through Mersebaum to Struham, three miles.

March 4. Through Zircke, Wruneck, Obestchow, to Studnitz, seven miles in one day, three of which we had the good fortune to ride.

March 5. Three miles, to Rogossn, where we arrived without so much as a heller to pay our lodging. The Jew inn-keeper drove us out of his house; we were obliged to wander all night, and, at break of day, found we had strayed two miles out of the road.

We entered a peasant's cottage, where an old woman was drawing bread hot out of an oven. We had no money to offer, and I felt at this moment the possibility even of committing murder for a morsel of bread, to satisfy the intolerable cravings of hunger. Shuddering with torment inexpressible at the thought, I hastened out of the door, and we walked on two miles more to Wongrofze.

Here I, for a ducat, sold my musket, which had procured us many a meal; such was the extremity of our distress. We then satiated our appetites, after having been forty hours without food or sleep, and having travelled ten miles in sleet and snow.

March 6. We rested, and came, on the 7th, through Genin to a village in the forest, four miles.

Here we fell in with a gang of gipsies (or rather banditti) amounting to four hundred men who drag-

ged me to their camp. They were mostly French and Prussian deserters, and, thinking me their equal, would force me to become one of their band. But venturing to tell my story to their leader, he presented me with a crown, gave us a small provision of bread and meat, and suffered us to depart in peace, after having been four-and-twenty hours in their company.

March 9. We proceeded to Lapuschin, three miles and a half; and the 10th to Thorn, four miles.

There was a fair held at Thorn on the day of our arrival. Suspicions might well arise among the crowd, on seeing a strong, tall young man, wretchedly clothed, with a large sabre by his side, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, accompanied by another, as poorly appareled as himself, with his hand and neck bound up, and armed likewise with pistols, so that, altogether, he more resembled a spectre than a man.

We went into an inn, but were refused entertainment. I then asked for the Jesuits' college, where I inquired for the father rector. They supposed at first I was a thief come to seek an asylum. After long waiting and much entreaty, his Jesuitical highness at length made his appearance, and received me as the Great Mogul would his slave. My case certainly was pitiable. I related all the events of my life, and the purport of my journey; conjured him to save Schell, who was unable to proceed further, and whose wounds grew daily worse; and prayed him to entertain him at the convent till I should have been to my mother, have obtained money, and returned to Thorn, when I would certainly repay him whatever expense he might have been at, with thanks and gratitude.

Scarcely would he listen to my humble request; then, and interrupted me continually to tell me, "Be brief, I have more pressing affairs than thine." In fine, I was turned away without obtaining the least assistance.

Mournful and angry, I left the college, and went to my lodging house, where I found a Prussian recruiting officer waiting for me, who used all his art to engage me to enlist; offering me five hundred dollars, and to make me a corporal if I could write. I pretended I was a Livonian, who had deserted from the Austrians, to return home, and claim an inheritance left me by my father. After much persuasion he at length told me, in confidence, it was very well known in the town that I was a robber; that I should soon be taken before a magistrate, but that, if I would enlist, he would ensure my safety.

This language was new to me; my passions rose instantaneously; I remembered my name was Trenck. I struck him, and drew my sword; but, instead of defending himself, he sprang out of the chamber, charging the host not to let me quit the house. I knew the town of Thorn had agreed with the king of Prussia, secretly, to deliver up deserters, and began to fear the consequences. Looking through the window, I saw two Prussian officers enter the house. Schell and I instantly flew to arms, and met the Prussians at the chamber door. "Make way," cried I, presenting my pistols. The Prussian soldiers drew their swords, but retired with fear. Going out of the house, I saw a Prussian lieutenant in the street with the town guard. These I overawed likewise by the same means, and no one durst oppose me, though every one cried, "Stop thief." I came safely, however, to the Jesuits' convent; but poor Schell was taken, and dragged to prison like a malefactor.

Half mad at not being able to rescue him, I imagined he must soon be delivered up to the Prussians. My reception was much better at the convent than it had been before, for they no longer doubted but that I was really a thief who sought an asylum. I addressed myself to one of the fathers, who appeared to be a good

kind of a man, related briefly what had happened, and entreated he would endeavour to discover why they sought to molest us.

He went out, and, returning in an hour after, told me: "Nobody knows you; a considerable theft was yesterday committed in the fair; all suspicious persons are seized: you entered the town accoutred like banditti. The man where you put up is employed as a Prussian enlister, and has announced you as suspicious people. The Prussian lieutenant thereupon laid complaint against you, and it was thought necessary to secure your persons.

My joy at hearing this was great. Our Moravian passport, and the journal of our route, which I had in my pocket, were full proofs of our innocence. I requested they would send and inquire at the town where we lay the night before. I soon convinced the Jesuit I spoke truth: he went, and presently returned with one of the syndics, to whom I gave a more full account of myself. The syndic examined Schell, and found his story and mine agreed; besides which, our papers, that they had seized, declared who we were. I passed the night in the convent without closing my eyes, revolving in my mind all the rigours of my fate. I was still more disturbed for Schell, who knew not where I was, but remained firmly persuaded we should be conducted to Berlin; and, if so, determined to put a period to his life.

My doubts were all ended at ten in the morning, when my good Jesuit arrived; and was followed by friend Schell. The judges, he said, had found us innocent, and declared us free to go where we pleased: adding, however, that he advised us to be upon our guard, we being watched by the Prussian enlists; that the lieutenant had hoped, by having us committed as thieves; to oblige me to enter; and that this would account for all that had happened.

I gave Schell a most affectionate welcome, who had been very ill used when led to prison, because he had endeavoured to defend himself with his left hand, and follow me. The people had thrown mud at him, and called him a rascal, that would soon be hanged. Schell was little able to travel further. The father rector sent us a ducat, but did not see us; and the chief magistrate gave each of us a crown by way of indemnification for false imprisonment. Thus sent away, we returned to our lodging, took our bundles, and immediately prepared to leave Thorn.

As we went, I reflected, that, on the road to Elbing, we must pass through several Prussian villages, and inquired for a shop where we might purchase a map. We were directed to an old woman, who sat at a door across the way, and were told she had a good assortment, for that her son was a scholar. I addressed myself to her, and my question pleased her; I having added, we were unfortunate travellers, who wished to find, by the map, the road to Russia.

She showed us into a chamber, laid an atlas on the table, and placed herself opposite me while I examined the map, and endeavoured to hide a bit of a ragged ruffie that had made its appearance. After steadfastly looking at me, she at length exclaimed, with a sad and mournful tone, "Good God! who knows what is now become of my poor son! I can see, sir, you too are of a good family. My son would go and seek his fortune, and for these eight years have I had no tidings of him. He must now be in the Austrian cavalry." I asked in what regiment: "The regiment of Hohenheim; you are his very picture." "Is he not of my height?" "Yes, nearly." "Has he not light hair?" "Yes, like yours, sir." "What is his name?" "His name is William." "No, my dear mother," cried I, "William is not dead; he was my best friend when I was with my regiment." Here the poor woman could not contain her joy. She threw herself round my neck,

called me her good angel, who brought her happy tidings, asked me a thousand questions, which I easily contrived to make her answer herself; and thus forced by imperious necessity, bereft of all other means, did I act the deceiver.

The story I made was nearly as follows: I told her I was a soldier in the regiment of Hohenhem, that I had a furlough to go and see my father, and that I should return in a month; would then take her letters, and undertake, that, if she wished it, her son should purchase his discharge, and once more come and live with his mother. I added, that I should be for ever and infinitely obliged to her, if she would suffer my comrade, mean time, to live at her house, he being wounded by the Prussian recruiters, and unable to pursue his journey; that I would send him money to come to me, or would myself come back and fetch him, thankfully paying every expense. She joyfully consented, told me her second husband, father-in-law to her dear William, had driven him from home, that he might give what substance they had to the younger son; and that the eldest had gone to Magdeburg. She determined Schell should live at the house of a friend, that her husband might know nothing of the matter; and, not satisfied with this kindness, she made me eat with her, gave me a new shirt, stockings, sufficient provisions for three days, and six Lunenburg florins. I left Thorn and my faithful Schell the same night, with the consolation he was well taken care of; and, having parted from him with regret, went, on this the 13th, two miles further, to Burglow.

March 14. I went to Schwetz; and

March 15. To Neuburg and Mowe. In these two days I travelled thirteen miles: I lay at Mowe, in some straw, among a number of carters, and, when I awoke, perceived they had taken my pistols and what little money I had left, even to my last penny. The gentleman, however, were all gone.

What could I do? The inn-keeper, perhaps, was privy to the theft. My reckoning amounted to eighteen Polish gresch. The surly landlord pretended to believe I had no money when I entered his house, and I was obliged to give him the only spare shirt I had, with a silk handkerchief, which the good woman of Thorn had made me a present of, and to depart without a single heller.

March 16. I set off for Marienburg: but it was impossible to reach this place, and not fall into the hands of the Prussians, if I did not cross the Vistula; and, unfortunately, I had no money to pay the ferry, which would cost two Polish schellings.

Full of anxiety, not knowing how to act, I saw two fishermen in a boat, went to them, drew my sabre, and obliged them to land me on the other side: when there, I took the oars from these timid people, jumped out of the boat, pushed it off the shore, and left it to drive with the stream.

I found Saxon and Prussian recruiters at Marienburg, with whom, having no money, I eat, drank, listened to their proposals, gave them hopes for the morrow, and departed by break of day.

March 17. To Elbing, four miles.

Here I met with my former worthy tutor, Brodowsky, who was become a captain, and auditor in the Polish regiment of Goltsch. He met me just, as I entered the town. I followed triumphant to his quarters, and here, at length, ended the painful, long, and adventurous journey I had been obliged to perform.

This good and kind gentleman, after providing me with immediate necessaries, wrote so affectingly to my mother, that she came to Elbing in a week, and gave me every aid of which I stood in need.

The pleasure I had in meeting once more this tender mother, whose qualities of heart and mind were equally excellent, was inexpressible. She found a certain mode of conveying a letter to my dear mistress at

Berlin, who, a short time after, sent me a bill of exchange for four hundred ducats, upon Dantzig. To this my mother added a thousand rix dollars, and a diamond cross, worth nearly half as much; remained a fortnight with me, and persisted, in spite of all remonstrance, in advising me to go to Vienna. My determination had been fixed for Petersburg; all my fears and apprehensions being awakened at the thought of Vienna. She would not yield in opinion, and promised her future assistance only in case of my obedience: it was my duty not to continue obstinate. Here she left me, and I have never seen her since. She died in 1751, and I have ever held her memory in veneration. It was a happiness for this affectionate mother, that she did not live to be a witness of my afflictions, in the year 1754.

An adventure, resembling that of Joseph in Egypt, happened to me in Elbing. The wife of the worthy Brodowsky, a woman of infinite personal attraction, grew partial to me; but I durst not act ungratefully by my benefactor. Never to see me more was too painful to her, and she even proposed to follow me secretly to Vienna. I own I had an affection for this lady; but my passions were overawed. She preferred me to her husband, who was in years, and ordinary in person.

Had I yielded to the slightest degree of guilt, that of present enjoyment, a few days of pleasure must have been followed by years of bitter repentance.

Having once more assumed my proper name and character, and made presents of acknowledgment to the worthy tutor of my youth, I returned to Thorn.

How great was my joy at again meeting my honest Schell! The kind old woman had treated him like a mother. She was surprised, and half terrified, at seeing me enter in an officer's uniform, and accompanied by two servants. I gratefully and rapturously kissed

her hand, repaid, with thankfulness, every expense, for Schell had been nurtured with truly maternal kindness, told her who I was, acknowledged the deceit I had put upon her concerning her son, but faithfully promised to give a true, and not fictitious account of him immediately on my arrival at Vienna;* Schell was ready in three days, and we left Thorn, came to Warsaw, and passed thence through Crakow, to Vienna.

ARRIVED at VIENNA in the month of April, 1747.

After having defrayed the expenses of travelling, for me and my friend Schell, I divided the three hundred ducats which remained with him, and, having staid a month at Vienna, he went to join the regiment of Pallavicini, in which he had obtained a first lieutenant's commission, and which was then in Italy.

Here I found my cousin, Baron Francis Trenck, the famous partisan and colonel of Pandours, imprisoned at the arsenal, and involved in a most perplexing prosecution.

I was moved to the soul at his sufferings, and, as he had vented public threats at the prospect of approaching victory over his enemies, they gained over the court confessor; and, dreading him as they did, put every wily art in practice to ensure his destruction. I, therefore, in the fulness of my heart, made him the brotherly proposition of escaping, and, having obtained his liberty, to prove his innocence to the empress queen. I told

* When I came to Vienna, I took all possible pains to inquire for this William, and found, by the commissary list, that he had deserted in 1744, had been retaken, and actually hanged. For a bribe of a few ducats, I procured a certificate of his having died a natural death, which I sent to the good woman, with a letter of thanks and consolation. Perhaps poor William, who was heir to twenty thousand florins, unable to procure a furlough, had deserted, and was executed as a malefactor. To how many reflections on arbitrary power, standing armies, and military law, do incidents like these give birth.

him my plan, which might easily have been put in execution, and which he seemed perfectly decided to follow.

Some days after, I was ordered to wait on Field-Marshal Count Konigseck, governor of Vienna. This respectable old gentleman behaved to me like a father, and the friend of humanity; advised me to abandon my cousin, who, he gave me clearly to understand, had betrayed me, by having revealed my proposed plan of escape, willing to sacrifice me to his ambition, in order to justify the purity of his intentions to the court, and show that, instead of wishing to escape, he only desired justice.

Confounded at the cowardly action of one for whom I would willingly have sacrificed my life, and whom I only sought to deliver, I resolved to leave him to his fate, and thought myself exceedingly happy that the worthy field-marshal would, after a fatherly admonition, smother all farther inquiry into this affair.

I related this black trait of ingratitude to Prince Charles of Lorraine, who prevailed on me to go again to see my cousin, without letting him know I knew what had passed, and still to render him every service in my power.

Before I proceed I will give the reader a portrait of this Trenck.

He was a man of superior talents and unbounded ambition; devoted, even fanatically, to his sovereign; his boldness approached temerity; he was artful of mind, wicked of heart, vindictive and unfeeling. His cupidity equalled the utmost excess of avarice, even in his thirty-third year, in which he died. He was too proud to receive favours or obligations from any man, and was capable of ridding himself of his best friend, if he thought he had any claims on his gratitude; or could get possession of his fortune.

He knew I had rendered him very important services; supposed his cause already won, having bribed the

judges, who were to revise the sentence, with thirty thousand florins, which money I received from his friend, Baron Lopresti, and conveyed to these honest counsellors. I knew all his secrets; and nothing more was necessary to prompt his suspicious and bad heart, to seek my destruction.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed after having first betrayed me, before the following remarkable event happened :

I left him one evening to return home, taking under my coat a bag with papers and documents relating to the prosecution, which I had been examining for him, and transcribing. There were, at this time, about five-and-twenty officers in Vienna, who had laid complaints against him, and who considered me as their greatest enemy, because I had laboured earnestly in his defence. I was therefore obliged; on all occasions, to be upon my guard. A report had been propagated through Vienna, that I was secretly sent by the king of Prussia, to free my cousin from imprisonment; he, however, constantly denied, to the hour of his death, his ever having written to me at Berlin. Hence, also, it will follow, the letter I received had been forged by Jaschinsky.

Leaving the arsenal, I crossed the court, and perceived I was closely followed by two men in roquelaures; who, pressing upon my heels, held loud and insolent conversation concerning the runaway Prussian Trenck. I found they sought a quarrel, which, was a thing of no great difficulty at that moment; for a man is never more disposed to duelling than when he has nothing to lose, and is discontented with his condition. I supposed they were two of the accusing officers broken by Trenck, and endeavoured to avoid them, and gain the Jews' place.

Scarcely had I turned down the street that leads thither, before they quickened their pace. I turned round, and in a moment received a thrust with a sword

in the left side, where I had put my bag of papers; which incident alone saved my life; the sword pierced through the papers, and slightly grazed the skin. I instantly drew, and the heroes ran. I pursued; one of them tripped, and fell. I seized him; the guard came up; he declared he was an officer of the regiment of Kollowrat, showed his uniform, was released, and I was taken to prison. The town major came the next day, and told me I had intentionally sought a quarrel with two officers, Lieutenants F——g and K——n. These kind gentlemen did not reveal their humane intention of sending me to the other world.

I was alone; could produce no witness; they were two. I must necessarily be in the wrong, and I remained six days in prison. No sooner was I released, than these, my good friends, sent to demand satisfaction for the said pretended insult. The proposal was accepted, and I promised to be at the Scotch gate, the place appointed by them, within an hour. Having heard their names, I presently knew them to be two famous swaggerers, who were daily exercising themselves in fencing at the arsenal, and where they often visited Trenck. I went to my cousin to ask his assistance, related what had happened, and, as the consequence of this duel might be serious, desired him to give me a hundred ducats, that I might be able to fly, if either of them should fall.

Hitherto I had expended my own money on his account, and had asked no reimbursement; but what was my astonishment, when this wicked man said to me with a sneer, "Since, good cousin, you have got into a quarrel without consulting me, you will also get out of it without my aid!"—As I left him, he called me back to tell me, "I will take care to pay your undertaker;" for he certainly believed I should never return alive.

I ran, now half despairing, to Baron Lopresti, who gave me fifty ducats and a pair of pistols; provided

with which, I cheerfully repaired to the field of battle.

Here I found half a dozen officers of the garrison. As I had few acquaintances at Vienna, I had no second, except an old-Spanish invalid captain, named Pereyra, who met me going in all haste, and, having learned whither, would not leave me.

Lieutenant K——a was the first with whom I fought, and who received satisfaction by a deep wound in the right arm. Hereupon I desired the spectators to prevent further mischief; for my own part, I had nothing more to demand. Lieutenant F——g next entered the lists with threats, which were soon quisted by a lunge in the belly. Hereupon Lieutenant M——f, second to the first wounded man, told me, very angrily, "Had I been your man, you would have found a very different reception." My old Spaniard of eighty, proudly and immediately advanced, with his long whiskers and tottering frame, and cried, "Hold! Trenck has proved himself a brave fellow, and, if any man thinks to assault him farther, he must first take a breathing with me." Every body laughed at this bravado from a man who scarcely could stand, or hold a sword. I replied, "Friend, I am safe, unhurt, and want not aid: should I be disabled, you then, if you think proper, may take my place; but, as long as I can hold a sword, I shall take pleasure in satisfying all these gentlemen, one after another." I would have rested myself a moment, but the haughty M——f, enraged at the defeat of his friend, would not give me time, but furiously attacked me, and, having wounded him twice, once in the hand, and again in the groin, he wanted to close and sink me to the grave with himself; but I disarmed and threw him.

None of the others had any desire to renew the contest. My three enemies were sent bleeding to town; and, as M——f appeared to be mortally wounded, and

the Jesuits and Capuchins of Vienna refused me an asylum, I fled to the convent at Keltensberg.

I wrote from the convent to Colonel Baron Leprasti, who came to me. I told him all that had passed, and, by his good offices, had liberty in a week to appear once more at Vienna.

The blood of Lieutenant F——g was in a corrupt state, and his wound, though not itself dangerous, made his life doubtful. He sent to entreat I would visit him; and when I went, having requested I would pardon him, gave me to understand I ought to beware of my cousin. I afterwards learned, the traitorous Trenck had promised Lieutenant F——g a company and a thousand ducats, if he could find means to quarrel with me, and rid the world of me. He was deeply in debt, and sought the assistance of Lieutenant K——n; and had not the papers luckily preserved me, I had undoubtedly been despatched by his first lounge. To clear themselves of the infamy of such an act, these two worthy gentlemen pretended I had assaulted them in the streets.

I could no more resolve to see my ungrateful and dangerous kinsman, who wished to have me murdered because I knew all his secrets, and thought he should be able to gain his cause without obligation to me or my assistance. Notwithstanding all his great qualities, his marking characteristic certainly was, that of sacrificing every thing to his private views, and especially to his covetousness, which was so great, that, even at this time of life, though his fortune amounted to a million and a half, he did not spend, per day, more than thirty kreutzers.

No sooner was it known that I had forsaken Trenck, than General Count Lowenwalde, his most ardent enemy, and president of the first council of war by which he had been condemned, desired to speak to me, promised every sort of good fortune and protection, if I would discover what means had secretly been em-

ployed in the revision of the process ; and went so far as to offer me four thousand florins, if I would aid a prosecution against my cousin. The proposal I rejected with disdain, and rather determined to seek my fortune in the East-Indies, than continue in a country, where, under the best of queens, the most loyal of subjects and first of soldiers might be rendered miserable, by interested, angry, and corrupt courtiers. Certain it is, as I now can prove, that Trenck, though the bitterest of my enemies, and whose conduct towards me merited my whole resentment, was the best soldier in the Austrian army, had been liberal of his blood and fortune in the imperial service, and would so have continued. had not his wealth, and his contempt for Weber and Lowenwalde, put him in the power of those wretches, who were the avowed enemies of courage and patriotism, and who only can maintain their authority, and sate their thirst of gain, by the base and wicked arts of courts.

I was resolved for ever to forsake Vienna. The friends of Trenck all became distrustful of him, because of his ingratitude to me. Prince Charles still endeavoured to persuade me to a reconciliation, and gave me a letter of recommendation to General Brown, who then commanded the Imperial army in Italy. But, more desirous of going to India, I left Vienna in August, 1748, and went for Holland.

At Nuremberg I met with a body of Russians, commanded by General Lieuwen, my mother's relation, who were marching to the Netherlands, and were the peace-makers of Europe. Major Buschkow, whom I had known when a Russian resident at Vienna, prevailed on me to visit him, and presented me to the general. I pleased him, and may say, with truth, he behaved to me like a friend and a father. He advised me to enter into the Russian service, and gave me a company of dragoons in the regiment of Tobolaki, on condition I should not leave him, but employ myself in

his cabinet ; and his confidence and esteem for me were unbounded.

Peace followed ; the army returned to Moravia, without firing a musket, and the head quarters were fixed at Prosnitz.

In this town a public entertainment was given by General Lieuwen, on the coronation-day of the Empress Elizabeth.

The army physician on this day kept a faro bank for the entertainment of the guests. My stock of money consisted of two-and-twenty ducats. Thirst of gain, or perhaps example, induced me to venture two of these, which I immediately lost, and very soon, by venturing again to regain them, the whole two-and-twenty. Chagrined at my folly, I returned home. I had nothing but a pair of pistols left, for which, because of their workmanship, General Woyekow had offered me twenty ducats. These I took, intending, by their aid, to attempt to retrieve my loss. Firing of guns and pistols was heard throughout the town, because of the festival, and I, in imitation of the rest, went to the window, and fired mine. After a few discharges, one of my pistols burst, and endangered my own hand, and wounded my servant. I felt a momentary despondency, stronger than I ever remembered to have experienced before ; insomuch, that I was half induced, with the remaining pistol, to shoot myself through the head. I, however, recovered my spirits, asked my servant what money he had, and received from him three ducats. With these I repaired, like a desperate gamester, once more to the faro table at the general's, again began to play, and, so extraordinary was my run of luck, I won at every venture. Having recovered my principal, I played on my winnings, till at last I had absolutely broke the doctor's bank : a new bank was set up, and I won the greatest part of this likewise, so that I brought home about six hundred ducats.

Rejoiced at my good fortune, but, recollecting my danger, I had the prudence to make a solemn resolution, never more to play at any game of chance, to which I have ever strictly adhered.

It were to be wished young men would reflect upon the effects of gaming, remembering that the love of play has made the most promising and virtuous miserable; the honest, knaves; and the sincere, deceivers and liars. Officers, having first lost all their own money, being intrusted with the soldiers' pay, have next lost that also; and thus been cashiered and eternally disgraced. I might at Prosnitz have been equally rash and culpable. The first venture, whether the gamester wins or loses, ensures a second; and, with that, too often destruction. My good fortune was almost miraculous, and my subsequent resolution very uncommon; and I entreat and conjure my children, when I shall no longer be living to advise and watch for their welfare, most determinedly to avoid play. I seemed preserved by Providence from this evil, but to endure much greater.

General Lieuwen, my kind patron, sent me from Krakow, to conduct a hundred and forty sick men down the Vistula to Dantzic, where there were Russian vessels to receive and transport them to Riga.

I requested permission of the general to proceed forward, and visit my mother and sister, whom I was very desirous to see; at Elbing, therefore, I resigned the command to Lieutenant Platen, and, attended by a servant, rode to the bishopric of Emérland, where I had appointed an interview with them in a frontier village.

The Prussians, some days before, had carried off a peasant's son from this village, as a recruit. The people were all in commotion. I wore spatterdashes, and the blue horse uniform of Russia. They took me for a Prussian at the door, and fell upon me with every kind

of weapon. A chasseur, who happened to be there, and the landlord, came to my assistance, while I, battling with the peasants, had thrown two of them down. I was delivered, but not till I had received, among others, two violent bruises, one on the left arm, and another, which broke the bridge of my nose. The landlord advised me to escape as fast as possible, or that the village would rise, and certainly murder me; my servant, therefore, who had retired for defence, with a pair of pistols, into the bake-house, got ready the horses, and we rode off.

I had my bruises dressed at the next village: my hand and eyes were extremely swelled, but I was obliged to ride two miles farther, to the town of Ressel, before I could find an able surgeon; and here I was so far recovered in a week, that I was able to return to Dantzic. My brother visited me while at Ressel; but my good mother had the misfortune, as she was coming to me, to be thrown out of her carriage, by which her arm was broken, so that she and my sister were obliged to return, and I never saw her more.

At Dantzic I became acquainted with a Prussian officer, whose name I shall conceal, out of respect to his very worthy family. He visited me daily, and we often rode out together in the neighbourhood.

My faithful servant became acquainted with his, and my astonishment was indeed great, when he one day said to me with anxiety, "Beware, sir, of a snare laid for you, by Lieutenant N——; he means to entice you out of town, and deliver you up to the Prussians." I asked him where he learned this; "From the Lieutenant's servant," answered he, "who is my friend, and wishes to save me from misfortune."

I now, with the aid of a couple of ducats, discovered the whole affair; and learned it was agreed between the Prussian resident, Reimer, and the Lieutenant, that the latter should entice me into the suburb of Langfuhr, where there was an inn on the Prussian territo-

ries; here eight recruiting under-officers were to wait concealed, and seize me the moment I entered the house, hurry me into a carriage, and drive away for Lauenberg, in Pomerania. Two under-officers were to escort me on horseback as far as the frontiers; and the remainder to hold, and prevent me from calling for help, so long as we should remain on the territories of Dantzic.

I further learned my enemies were only to be armed with sabres, and that they were to wait behind the door. The two officers on horseback were to secure my servant, and prevent him from riding off, and raising an alarm.

Lieutenant N—— came about noon to dine with me as usual; was more pensive and serious than I had ever observed him before, and left me at four in the afternoon, after having made me promise to ride early next day with him as far as Langfuhr. I observed my consent gave him great pleasure, and my heart then pronounced sentence on the traitor. The moment he had left me, I went to the Russian resident, M. Scheerer, an honest Swiss, related the whole conspiracy, and asked if I might not take six of the men under my command, for my own personal defence. I told him my plan, which he at first opposed; but, seeing me obstinate, he answered at last, "Do as you please; I must know nothing of the matter, nor will I make myself responsible.

I immediately joined my soldiers, selected six men, and took them while it was dark, opposite the Prussian inn, hid them in the corn, with an order to run to my help, with their firelocks loaded, the first discharge they should hear; to seize all who should fall into their power, and only to fire in case of resistance. I provided them with fire-arms, by concealing them in the carriage which brought them to their hiding-place.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, I still thought it necessary to prevent surprise, by informing myself what were the proceedings of my enemies, lest my intelligence should have been false; and I learned from my spies, that, at four in the morning, the Prussian resident, Reimer, had left the city with post-horses.

I loaded mine and my servant's horse and pocket pistols, prepared my Turkish sabre, and, in gratitude to the lieutenant's man, promised to take him into my service, being convinced of his honesty.

The lieutenant cheerfully entered about six in the morning, expatiated on the fineness of the weather, and jocosely told me I should be very kindly received by the handsome landlady of Langfuhr.

I was soon ready; we mounted, and left the town, attended by our servants. Some three hundred paces from the inn my worthy friend proposed that we should alight, and let our servants lead the horses, that we might enjoy the beauty of the morning. I consented; and, having dismounted, observed his eyes sparkle with pleasure.

The resident Reimer was at the window of the inn, and called out, as soon as he saw me, "Good morrow, captain, good morrow; come, come in; your breakfast is waiting." I sneeringly smiled, and told him I had not time at present. So saying, I continued my walk; but my companion would force me to enter, took me by the arm, and partly struggled with me; on which, losing all patience, I gave him a blow which almost knocked him down, and ran to my horses, as if I meant to fly.

The Prussians instantly rushed from behind the door, with clamour, to attack me. I fired at the first; my Russians sprang from their hiding-place, presented their pieces, and called, *Stuy, stuy, yebionkamat*.

The terror of the poor Prussians may well be supposed. All began to run. I had taken care to make sure of my lieutenant. and was next running to seize

the resident, but he had escaped out of the back door, with the loss only of his white periwig. The Russians had taken four prisoners, and I commanded them to bestow fifty strokes upon each of them, in the open street. An ensign, named Casseburg, having told me his name, and that he had been my brother's school-fellow, begged remission, and excused himself, on the necessity which he was under to obey his superiors. I admitted his excuses, and suffered him to go. I then drew my sword, and bade the lieutenant defend himself; but he was so confused, that, after drawing his sword, he asked my pardon, laid the whole blame upon the resident, and had not the power to put himself upon his guard. I twice jerked his sword out of his hand, and at last, taking the corporal's cane, I exhausted my strength with beating him, without his offering the least resistance. I left him kneeling, saying to him, "Go, rascal! now, and tell your comrades the manner in which Trenck punishes robbers on the high-way."

The people had assembled round us, during the action, to whom I related the affair; and, the attack having happened on the territories of Dantzic, the Prussians were in danger of being stoned by the populace. I and my Russians marched off victorious, proceeded to the harbour, embarked, and three or four days after set sail for Riga.

I had eaten heartily before I went on board; a storm came on; I worked half the night to aid the crew, but at length became sea-sick, and went to lie down. Scarcely had I closed my eyes, before the master came with the joyful tidings, as he thought, that we were running for the port of Pillau. Far from pleasing, this to me was dreadful intelligence. I ran on deck, saw the harbour right before me, and a pilot coming off. The sea must now either be kept in a storm, or I fall into the hands of the Prussians; for I was known to the whole garrison of Pillau.

I desired the captain to tack about and keep the sea, but he would not listen to me. Perceiving this, I flew to my cabin, snatched my pistols, returned, seized the helm, and threatened the captain with instant death if he did not obey. My Russians began to murmur; they were averse to encountering the dangers of the storm, but luckily they were still more averse to meet my anger, overawed, as they were, by my pistols, and my two servants, who stood by me faithfully.

Half an hour after the storm began to subside, and we fortunately arrived the next day in the harbour of Riga. The captain, however, could not be appeased, but accused me before the old and honourable Marshal Lacy, then governor of Riga. I was obliged to appear, and replied to the charge by relating the truth. The governor answered, my obstinacy might have occasioned the loss of a hundred and sixty persons. I, smiling, retorted, "I have brought them all safe to port, please your excellency; and, for my part, my fate would have been much more merciful, by falling into the hands of my God, than into the hands of my enemies. My danger was so great, that I forgot the danger of others; besides, sir, I knew my comrades were soldiers, and feared death as little as I do." My answer pleased the gray-headed general, and he gave me a recommendation to the Chancellor Bestuchef, at Moscow.

I had not been long at Moscow, before I met Count Hamilton, my former friend during my abode at Vienna. He was captain of cavalry, in the regiment of General Bernes, who had been sent as Imperial ambassador to Russia.

Bernes had been ambassador at Berlin, in 1743, where he had known me during the height of my favour at the court of Frederick. Hamilton presented me to him, and I had the good fortune so far to gain his friendship, that, after a few visits, he endeavoured to detach me from the Russian service, offering me the strongest recommendations to Vienna, and a company

in his own regiment. My cousin's misfortunes, however, had left too deep an impression upon my memory for me to follow his advice. The Indies would then have been preferred by me to Austria.

Bernes invited me to dine with him, in company with his bosom friend, Lord Hyndford, the English ambassador. How great was the pleasure I that day received! This eminent statesman had known me at Berlin, and was present when Frederick had honoured me with saying, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse*. He was well read in men, conceived a good opinion of my abilities, and became a friend and father to me. He seated me by his side at table, and asked me, "Why came you here, Trenck?" "In search of bread and honour, my lord," answered I, "having unmeritedly lost them both in my own country." He farther inquired the state of my finances; I told him my whole store might be some thirty ducats.

"Take my counsel," said he; "you have the necessary qualifications to succeed in Russia; but the people here despise poverty, judge from the exterior only, and do not include services or talents in the estimate; you must have the appearance of being wealthy. I and Bernes will introduce you into the best families, and will supply you with the necessary means of support. Splendid liveries, led horses, diamond rings, deep play, a bold front, undaunted freedom with statesmen, and gallantry among the ladies, are the means by which foreigners must make their way in this country. Avail yourself of them, and leave the rest to us." This lesson lasted some time. Bernes entered in the interim, and they determined mutually to contribute towards my promotion.

I was now introduced into all companies, not as a foreigner, who came to entreat employment, but as the heir of the house of Trenck, and its rich Hungarian possessions, and as the former favourite of the Prussian monarch.

Scarcely had I been six weeks in this city, when, dining one public day with Lord Hyndford, I was seated beside a charming young lady, of one of the best families in Russia, who had been promised in marriage, though only seventeen, to an old invalid minister. Her eyes soon told me she thought me preferable to her intended bridegroom. I understood them, lamented her hard fate, and was surprised to hear her exclaim, "Oh heavens! that it were possible you could deliver me from my misfortune! I would engage to do whatever you direct."

The impression such an appeal must make on a man of four-and-twenty, of a temperament like mine, may easily be supposed. The lady was ravishingly beautiful; her soul was candour itself, and her rank that of a princess; but the court's commands had already been given in favour of the marriage; and flight, with all its inseparable dangers, was the only expedient. A public table was no place for long explanations. Our hearts were already one. I requested an interview, and the next day was appointed, the place the Trotzer garden, where I passed three rapturous hours in her company; thanks to her woman, who was a Georgian. To escape, however, from Moscow, was impossible. The distance thence to any foreign country was too great. The court was not to remove to Retersburg till the next spring, and her marriage was fixed for the first of August. The misfortune was not to be remedied, and nothing was left us but patience perforce. We could only resolve to fly from Petersburg, when there, the soonest possible, and take refuge in some corner of the earth, where we might remain unknown of all. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with pomp, though I, in despite of forms, was the true husband of the princess. Such was the state of the husband imposed upon her, that to describe it, and not give disgust, were impossible.

The princess gave me her jewels, and several thousand rubles, which she had received as a nuptial present, that I might purchase every thing necessary for flight: my evil destiny, however, had otherwise determined. I was playing at ombre with her one night, at the house of the Countess of Bestuchef, when she complained of a violent headach, appointed me to meet her on the morrow, in the Trotzer gardens, clasped my hand with inexpressible emotion, and departed. Alas! I never beheld her more, till stretched upon her bier!

She grew delirious that very night, and so continued till her death, which happened on the sixth day, when the small pox began to appear. Amidst her distraction she had discovered our love, and incessantly called upon me to deliver her from her tyrant. Thus, in the flower of her age, perished one of the most lovely women I ever knew, and with her fled all I held most dear.

All my plans were now to be new arranged. Lord Hyndford, alone, was in the secret, for I hid no secrets from him. He strengthened me in my first resolution, and owned, that he himself, for such a mistress, might, perhaps, have been weak enough to have acted as I had done. Almost as much moved as myself, he sympathised with me like a friend, and his advice deterred me from ending my miseries, and descending with her, whom I had loved; and lost, to the grave. This was the severest trial I had ever felt. Our affection was unbounded, and such only as noble hearts can feel. She being gone, the whole world became a desert. There is not a man on earth, whose life affords more various turns of fate than mine. Swiftly raised to the highest pinnacle of hope, as suddenly was I cast headlong down; and so remarkable were these revolutions, that he, who has read my history, will at last find it difficult to say, whether he envies or pities me most; and

yet these were, in reality, but preparatory to the evils that hovered over my devoted head. Had not the remembrance of past joys soothed and supported me under my sufferings, I certainly should not have endured the ten years' torture of the Magdeburg dungeon, with a fortitude that might have been worthy even of Socrates.

Enough of this. My blood again courses swifter through my veins as I write! Rest, gentle maiden, noble and lovely as thou wert! For thee ought heaven to have united a form so fair, animated as it was by a soul so pure, to ever-blooming youth and immortality.

Her gifts to me amounted, in value, to about seven thousand ducats. Lord Hyndford and Count Bernes, both adjudged them legally mine, and, well am I assured, her heart had bequeathed me much more.

To this event succeeded another, by which my fortune was greatly influenced. The Countess of Bestuchef was then the most amiable and witty woman at court. Her husband, cunning, selfish, but shallow, had the name of minister, while she, in reality, governed with a genius at once daring and comprehensive. The too pliant Elizabeth carelessly left the most important things to the direction of others. Thus the countess was the first person of the empire, and on whom the attention of all the foreign ministers was fixed.

Haughty and majestic in demeanor, she was supposed to be the only woman at court who continued faithful to her husband; which supposition probably originated in her art and education, she being a German born; for I afterward found her virtue was only pride, and a knowledge of the national character. The Russian lover rules despotic over his mistress; requires money, submission, and, should he meet opposition, threatens her with blows, and the discovery of her secret.

During Elizabeth's reign, foreigners could neither appear at court, nor in the best company, without the introduction of Bestuchef. I and Sievers, gentlemen of the chamber, were, at that time, the only Germans who had free egress and regress in all houses of fashion; my being protected by the English and Austrian ambassadors gave me very peculiar advantages, and made my company every where courted.

Bestuchef had been resident, during the late reign, at Hamburg, in which inferior station, he married the countess, at that time, though young and handsome, only the widow of the merchant Boettger. Under Elizabeth, Bestuchef rose to the summit of rank and power, and the widow Boettger became the first lady in the empire. When I knew her, she was eight-and-thirty, consequently no beauty, though a woman highly endowed in mind and manners, of keen discernment, disliking the Russians, protecting the Prussians, and at whose aversion all trembled.

Her carriage towards the Russians was, what it must be in her situation, lofty, cautious, and ironical, rather than kind. To me she showed the utmost esteem on all occasions, welcomed me to her table, and often admitted me to drink coffee, in company with herself alone, and Colonel Oettinger. The countess never failed giving me to understand, she had perceived my love for the Princess N——; and, though I constantly denied the fact, she related circumstances which she could have known, as I thought, only from my mistress herself. My silence pleased her; for the Russians, when a lady has a partiality for them, never fail to vaunt of their good fortune. She wished to persuade me she had observed us in company, had read the language of our eyes, and had long penetrated our secret. I was ignorant, at that time, that she then, and had long before, entertained the maid of my mistress, as a spy, in her pay.

About a week after the death of the princess, the countess invited me to take coffee with her in her chamber; lamented my loss, and the violence of that passion which had deprived me of all my customary vivacity, and altered my very appearance. She seemed so interested in my behalf, and expressed so many wishes, and so ardent, to better my fate, that I could no longer doubt. Another opportunity soon happened which confirmed these my suspicions; her mouth confessed her sentiments. Discretion, secrecy, and fidelity, were the laws she imposed; and never did I experience a more ardent passion from woman. Such was her understanding and penetration, she knew how to rivet my affections.

Caution was the thing most necessary. She contrived, however, to make opportunity. The chancellor valued, confided in me, and employed me in his cabinet; so that I remained whole days in his house. My captainship of cavalry was now no longer thought of; I was destined to political employment. My first was to be gentleman of the chamber, which in Russia is an office of importance, and the prospect of futurity became to me most resplendent. Lord Hyndford, ever the repository of my secrets, counselled me, formed plans for my conduct, rejoiced at my success, and refused to be reimbursed the expense he had been at, though now my circumstances were prosperous.

The degree of credit I enjoyed soon was noticed; foreign ministers began to pay their court to me. Goltz, the Prussian minister, made every effort to win me, but found me incorruptible.

The Russian alliance was, at this time, highly courted by foreign powers; the humbling of Prussia was the thing generally wished and planned; and nobody was better informed than myself of ministerial and family factions at this court.

My mistress, a year after my acquaintance with her, fell into her enemies' power, and, with her husband,

was delivered over to the executioner. Chancellor Bestuchef, in the year 1756, was forced to confession by the knout. Apraxim, minister of war, had a similar fate. The wife of his brother, then envoy in Poland, was, by the treachery of a certain Lieutenant Berger, with three others of the first ladies of the court, knouted, branded, and had their tongues cut out. This happened in the year 1741, when Elizabeth ascended the throne. Her husband, however, faithfully served; I knew him as Russian envoy, at Vienna, in 1751. This may indeed be called the love of our country, and thus does it happen to the first men of the state; what then can a foreigner hope for, if persecuted, and in the power of those in authority?*

No man, in so short a space of time, had greater opportunities than I to discover the secrets of state; especially when guided by Hyndford and Bernes, under the reign of a well-meaning, but short-sighted empress, whose first minister was a weak man, directed by the will of an able and ambitious wife, and which wife loved me, a stranger, an acquaintance only of a few months, so passionately, that to this passion she would have sacrificed every other object. She might, in fact, be considered as empress of Russia, disposing of peace or war; and, had I been more prudent or less sincere, I might, in such a situation, have amassed treasures, and deposited them in full security. Her generosity was boundless; and, though obliged to pay above a hundred thousand rubles in one year, to discharge her son's debts, yet might I have saved a still larger sum; but half of the gifts she obliged me to receive I lent to this son, and lost. So far was I from selfish,

* There is a confusion of dates, as well as facts, in the above paragraph. Perhaps there may be some error of the press; and the baron's long imprisonment, and the advanced age in which he wrote, might both, or either, lead to mistake. The baron's chronology, even of himself, is, throughout, very inaccurate. T.

and so negligent of wealth, that, by supplying the wants of others, I often, on a reverse of fortune, suffered want myself.

My splendid success in Russia displeased the great Frederick, whose persecution every where attended me, and who supposed his interest injured by my success in Russia. The incident I am going to relate was, at the time it happened, well known to, and caused much agitation among, all the foreign ambassadors.

Lord Hyndford desired I would make him a fair copy of the plan of Cronstadt, for which he furnished the materials, with three additional drawings of the various ships in the harbour, and their names. There was neither danger nor suspicion attending this; the plan of Cronstadt being no secret, but publicly sold in the shops of Petersburg. England was likewise then in the closest alliance with Russia. Hyndford showed the drawing to Funk, the Saxon envoy, his intimate friend, who asked his permission to copy it himself. Hyndford gave him the plan, signed with my name, and, after Funk had been some days employed in copying it, the Prussian minister, Goltz, who lived in the neighbourhood, came in, as he frequently paid him friendly visits. Funk unsuspectingly showed him my drawing, and both lamented that Frederick had lost so useful a subject. Goltz asked to borrow it for a couple of days, in order to correct his own; and Funk, one of the worthiest, most honest, and least suspicious of men, who loved me like a brother, accordingly lent the plan.

No sooner was Goltz in possession of it, than he hurried to the chancellor, with whose weakness he was well acquainted; told him his intent in coming was to prove, that a man who had once been unfaithful to his king and country, where he had been loaded with favours, would certainly betray, for his own private interest, every state where he was trusted.

He continued his preface by speaking of the rapid progress I had made in Russia, and the free entrance I had found in the chancellor's house, where I was received as a son, and initiated in the secrets of the cabinet.

The chancellor defended me, till, at last, Goltz took my plan of Cronstadt from his pocket, and added, "Your excellency is nourishing a serpent in your bosom. This drawing I have received from Trenck, copied from your cabinet designs, for two hundred ducats." He knew I was employed there sometimes with Oettinger, whose office it was to inspect the buildings and repairs of all the Russian fortifications. Bestuchef was astonished; his anger became violent, and Goltz added fuel to the flame, by insinuating, I should not be so powerfully protected by Bernes the Austrian ambassador, were it not to favour the views of his own court. Bestuchef mentioned prosecution and the knout. Goltz replied, my friends were too powerful, my pardon would be procured, and the evil this way increased. They therefore determined to have me secretly secured, and privately conveyed to Siberia.

Goltz had scarcely left the place triumphant, when the chancellor entered into his lady's apartment, told her my conduct, and, while she endeavoured to soothe him, related all that had passed. Her penetration was much deeper than her husband's; she perceived there was a plot against me; she indeed knew my heart better than any other, and particularly that I was not in want of a poor two hundred ducats. She could not, however, appease him, and my arrest was determined. She, therefore, instantly wrote me a line to the following purport:

"You are threatened, dear friend, by very imminent danger. Do not sleep to-night at home, but secure yourself at Lord Hyndford's, till you hear farther from me."

Secretary S——n was sent with this note. He found me after dinner at the English ambassador's, and called me aside. I read the billet, was astonished at its contents, and showed it to Lord Hyndford, who commanded me to remain in his house till we should make further discovery.

We placed spies round the house where I lived; I was inquired for after midnight, and the lieutenant of the police came himself, and searched the house.

Lord Hyndford went about ten in the morning to visit the chancellor, that he might obtain some intelligence, who immediately reproached him for having granted an asylum to a traitor. "What has this traitor done?" said Hyndford. "Faithlessly copied a plan of Cronstadt from my cabinet drawings," answered the chancellor, "which he has sold to the Prussian minister, for two hundred ducats."

Hyndford was astonished; he knew me well, and also knew that he had then, in money and jewels, more than eight thousand ducats of mine in his own hands; nor was he less ignorant of the little value I set on money, or of the sources whence I could obtain it, when I pleased. "Has your excellency seen this drawing of Trenck's?" "Yes, I have been shown it by Goltz." "I wish I might likewise be permitted to see it; I know Trenck's drawing, and make myself responsible that he is no traitor. Here is some mystery; be so kind as to desire M. Goltz will come and bring his plan of Cronstadt. Trenck is at my house, shall be forthcoming instantly, and I will not protect him if he proves guilty."

The chancellor wrote to Goltz; but he, artful as he was, had, no doubt, taken care to be informed that the lieutenant of the police had missed his prey. He, therefore, sent an excuse, and did not appear. In the mean time I entered. Hyndford then addressed me with the openness of an Englishman, and asked, "Are

you a traitor, Trenck ? if so, you do not merit my protection, but stand here a state prisoner. Have you sold a plan of Cronstadt to M. Goltz ?" My answer may easily be supposed. Hyndford rehearsed what the chancellor had told him ; I was desired to leave the room, and Funk was sent for. The moment he came in, Hyndford said, " Sir, where is that plan of Cronstadt, which Trenck copied ?" Funk, hesitating, replied, " I will go for it." " Have you it," continued Hyndford, " at home ? Speak upon your honour." " No, my lord, I have lent it, for a few days, to M. Goltz, that he may take a copy."

Hyndford immediately then saw the whole affair, told the chancellor the history of this plan, which belonged to him, and which he had lent to Funk, and requested a trusty person might be sent with him to make proper search. Bestuchef named his first secretary, and to him were added Funk and the Dutch envoy, Schwart, who happened then to enter. All went together to the house of Goltz. Funk here demanded his plan of Cronstadt : Goltz gave it him, and Funk returned it to Lord Hyndford.

The secretary and Hyndford both then desired he would produce the plan of Cronstadt, which he had bought of Trenck, for two hundred ducats. His confusion now was great, and Hyndford firmly insisted this plan should be forthcoming, to vindicate the honour of Trenck, whom he held to be an honest man. On this, Goltz answered, " I have received my king's commands to prevent the preferment of Trenck in Russia, and I have only fulfilled the duty of a minister."

Hyndford spit on the ground, and said more than I now choose to repeat ; after which the four gentlemen returned to the chancellor, and I was again called. Every body complimented me, related what had passed, and the chancellor promised I should be recompensed ; strictly, however, forbidding me to take any

revenge on the Prussian ambassador, I having sworn, in the first transports of anger, to punish him wherever I should find him, even were it at the altar's foot.

I received a present of two thousand rubles, the next day, from the chancellor, with orders to thank the empress for this mark of her bounty, and accept it as a sign of her especial favour. I paid these my thanks some days after. The money I disregarded; but the amiable empress, by her enchanting benevolence, made me forget the past.

The chancellor had greatly changed his carriage towards me since the incident of the plan. He observed my looks and words, showed he was distrustful and desirous of revenge. His lady, as well as myself, remarked this, and new measures became necessary. I was obliged to act an artful, but, at the same time, a very dangerous part.

My cousin, Baron Trenck, died in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749, and left me his heir, on condition I should only serve the house of Austria. In March, 1750, Count Bernes received the citation sent me to enter on this inheritance. I would hear nothing of Vienna; the abominable treatment of my cousin terrified me. Bernes, however, represented, that the property left me was worth much above a million; that the empress would support me in the pursuit of justice, and that I had no personal enemy at Vienna; that a million of certain property in Hungary was much superior to the highest expectations in Russia, where I myself had beheld so many changes of fortune, and the effects of family cabals.

Hyndford assured me of his eternal protection, and described London as a certain asylum, should I not find happiness at Vienna. He spoke of slavery as a Briton ought to speak. These reasonings, at length, determined me; but, having plenty of money, I thought proper to take Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Holland, in my way; and Bernes was, in the mean time, to

prepare me a favourable reception at Vienna; he desired also I would give him authority to get possession of the estates to which I was heir.

My mistress strongly endeavoured to detain me, but yielded at length to the force of reason. I tore myself away, and promised, on my honour, to return, as soon as I had arranged my affairs at Vienna.

From Moscow I travelled to Petersburg, where my effects, in money and jewels, amounted to about thirty-six thousand florins. After remaining a few days at Petersburg, I journeyed, by land, to Stockholm; taking with me letters of recommendation from all the foreign envoys.

At Stockholm I wanted for no recommendation; the queen, sister to the great Frederick, had known me at Berlin, when I had the honour, as an officer of the body-guard, of accompanying her to Stetten. I related my whole history to her without reserve. She, from political motives, advised me not to make any stay in Stockholm, and to me continued, till death, an ever gracious lady. I proceeded to Copenhagen, where I had business to transact for M. Chaise, the Danish envoy at Moscow; from whom, also, I had letters of recommendation. Here I had the pleasure of meeting my old friend, Lieutenant Bach, who had aided me in my escape from my imprisonment at Glatz. He was poor, and in debt, and I procured him protection, by relating the noble manner in which he had behaved. I also presented him with five hundred ducats, by the aid of which he pushed his fortune. He wrote to me, in the year 1776, a letter of sincerest thanks, and died a colonel of hussars, in the Danish service, in 1779.

I remained in Copenhagen but a fortnight, and then sailed in a Dutch ship, from Elsinour, for Amsterdam. Scarcely had we put to sea, before a storm arose, by which we lost a mast and our bowsprit, had our sails shattered, and were obliged to cast anchor among the

rocks of Gottenburg, where our deliverance was singularly fortunate.

Here we lay nine days, before we could make the open sea, and here I found a very pleasant amusement, by going daily in the ship's boat, from rock to rock, attended by two of my servants, to shoot wild ducks and catch shell-fish; whence I every evening returned with provisions and sheep's milk, bought of the poor inhabitants, for the ship's crew.

There was a dearth among these poor people. Our vessel was laden with corn; some of this I purchased, to the amount of some hundreds of Dutch florins, and distributed wherever I went. I also gave one of their ministers a hundred florins for his poor congregation, who was, himself, in want of bread, and whose annual stipend did not amount to one hundred and fifty florins.

In this employment, however, I had nearly lost my life. Returning from carrying corn, the wind arose, and drove the boat to sea. I, not understanding the management of the helm, and the servant awkwardly handling the sails, the boat, in tacking, was overset. The benefit of learning to swim I again experienced, and my faithful servant, who had gained the rock, aided me when almost spent. The good people, who had seen the shallop overset, came off, in their boats, to my assistance. An honest Calmuc, whom I had brought from Russia, and another of my servants, perished. I saw the first sink after I had reached the shore.

The kind Swedes brought me on board, and also righted, and returned with the shallop. We weighed anchor, and sailed for the Texel, the mouth of which we saw, and the pilots coming off, when another storm rose, and drove us to the port of Bahus, in Norway, into which we ran, without farther damage. In some few days we again set sail with a fair wind, and at length reached Amsterdam.

I was a spectator while the harpooners, belonging to the whale-fishery, were exercising themselves in darting their harpoons, most of whom were drunk. One of them, Herman Rogaar by name, a hero among these people, for his dexterity with his snickasnee, came up, and passed some of his coarse jokes upon my Turkish sabre, and offered to fillip me on the nose. I pushed him from me, and the fellow threw down his cap, drew his snickasnee, challenged me, called me monkey-tail, and asked me whether I chose a straight, a circular, or a cross cut.

Thus here was I, in this excellent company, with no choice but that of either fighting or running away. The robust Herculean grew more insolent, and I, turning round to the by-standers, asked them to lend me a snickasnee; "No, no," said the challenger, "draw your great knife from your side, and, long as it is, I will lay you a dozen ducats you get a gash in the cheek;" I drew; he confidently advanced with his snickasnee, and, at the first stroke of my sabre, that, and the hand that held it, both dropped to the ground, and the blood spouted in my face.

I now expected the people would indubitably tear me to pieces; but my fear was changed into astonishment, at hearing a universal shout applauding the vanquisher of the redoubted Herman Rogaar, who, so lately feared for his strength and dexterity, became the object of their ridicule. A Jew spectator conducted me out of the crowd, and the people, clamorously, followed me to my inn.

I left Amsterdam for the Hague, where I had been recommended to Lord Holderness, the English ambassador, by Lord Hyndford; to Baron Reischach, by Bernes; to the Grand Pensionary Fagel, by Schwartz; and from the chancellor I had a letter to the Prince of Orange himself. I could not, therefore, but be received with all possible distinction. My ill fortune brought

me, letters from Count Bernes, assuring me that Heaven was at Vienna, and including a citation from the high court, requiring me to give in my claim of inheritance. Bernes farther informed me the Austrian court had assured him I should meet with all justice and protection, and advised me to hasten my journey, as the executors of the estates of Trenck was conducted but little to my advantage.

This advice I took, proceeded to Vienna, and; from that moment, all my happiness had an end.

One M. Schenck sought my acquaintance at the Hague. I met with him at my hotel, where he entreated I would take him to Nuremberg, whence he was to proceed to Saxony. I complied, and bore his expenses; but, at Hanau, waking in the morning, I found my watch set with diamonds, a ring worth two thousand rubles, a diamond snuff-box, and my purse, containing about eighty ducats, stolen from my bedside, and Schenck become invisible. The rascal had escaped, and it was fortunate that the remainder of my ready money, with my bills of exchange, were safely locked up.

I now pursued my journey, without company, and arrived in Vienna.

Francis Baron Trenck died, in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749. He had committed no offence against the state, was accused of none, much less convicted. The court sentence was, that the administration of his estate should be committed to Counsellor Kempf and Baron Poyaczewitz, who were selected by himself, and the accounts of his stewards and farmers were to be sent him yearly. He continued, till his death, to have the free and entire disposal of his property.

I will now show how I have been deprived of this valuable inheritance, while I have been obliged to pay about sixty thousand florins, to defray legacies he left.

The father of Baron Trenck, who died in the year 1743, governor of Leitschau, in Hungary, named me, in his will, the successor of his son, should he die without heirs male.

This will was sent to be proved, according to form, at Vienna, after having been authenticated, in the most legal manner, in Hungary. The court, called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, neglected to provide a curator for the security of the next heir; yet this could not annul my right of succession. When Trenck succeeded his father, he entered no protest to this his father's will, therefore dying without children, in the year 1749, my claim was indisputable. I was heir, had he made no will; and, even in case of confiscation, my title to his father's estates still remained valid.

Trenck knew this but too well; he knew I was the legal claimant to his father's estates. The property he himself had gained was consigned to administrators, but a hundred thousand florins had been expended in law-suits, and sixty-three suits continued, actually, pending against him in court; the legacies he bequeathed amounted to eighty thousand florins. These he saw could not be paid, should I claim nothing more than the paternal inheritance; he therefore named me his universal heir, on the following conditions:

First, I was to become a Catholic.

Secondly, I was to serve only the house of Austria; and,

Lastly, he made his whole estate, without excepting the paternal inheritance, a *Fidei commissum*.

His death, believed in Vienna to be miraculous, happened after the following manner: and, by this, he had induced many weak people, who really believed him a saint, to further his views.

Three days before his death, while in perfect health, he desired the governor of the Spielberg to send for

his confessor, for that Saint Francis had revealed to him he should be removed into life everlasting on his birth-day, at twelve o'clock. The capuchin was sent for, but the prediction laughed at.

The day, however, after the departure of his confessor, he said, "Praise be to God, my end approaches; my confessor is dead, and has appeared to me." Strange as it may seem, it was actually found to be true, that the priest was dead. He now had all the officers of the garrison of Brunn assembled, tonsured his head like a capuchin, took the habit of the order, publicly confessed himself, in a sermon of an hour's length exhorted them all to holiness, acted the part of a most exemplary penitent, embraced all present, spoke with a smile of insignificance of all earthly possessions, took his leave, knelt down to prayers, slept calmly, rose, prayed again, and, about eleven in the forenoon, October 4th, taking his watch in his hand, said, "Thanks be to my God, my last hour approaches." All laughed at such a farce from a man of such a character; yet they remarked that the left side of his face grew pale. He then leaned his arm on the table, prayed, and remained motionless, with his eyes closed. The clock struck twelve; no signs of life or motion could be discovered: they spoke to him, and found he was really dead.

The word miracle was echoed through the whole country, and the transmigration of the Pandour Trenck, from earth to heaven, by Saint Francis, proclaimed. The clue to this labyrinth of miracles, known only to me, is truly as follows:

He possessed the secret of what is called, the *agua tofana*, and had determined on death. His confessor had been intrusted with all his secrets, and with promissory notes, which he wished to invalidate. I am perfectly certain, that he had returned a promissory note, of a great prince, given for two hundred thousand florins, which has never been brought to account. The

confessor, therefore, was to be provided for, that Trenck might not be betrayed, and a dose of poison was given him before he set off for Vienna—his death was the consequence. He took similar means with himself, and thus knew the hour of his exit; finding he could not become the first on earth, he wished to be adored as a saint in heaven. He knew he should work miracles when dead, because he ordered a chapel to be built, willed a perpetual mass, and bequeathed the capuchins sixty thousand florins.

Thus died this most extraordinary man, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, to whom nature had denied none of her gifts; who had been the scourge of Bavaria, the terror of France, and who had, with his supposed contemptible Pandours, taken above sixty thousand Prussian prisoners. He had lived a tyrant and enemy of men, and died a sanctified impostor.

Instead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thousand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the prosecution of his suits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1743, to procure its very reprehensive silence concerning a curator, to which I was sacrificed, as the new judges of this court refused to correct the error of their predecessors.

On my first audience no one could be received more kindly than I was, by the empress queen. She spoke of my deceased cousin with much emotion and esteem, promised me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations she had received on my behalf, from Count Bernes. Finding sixty-three causes hung over my head, in consequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain justice in any one of which, at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honest man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view, I applied for, and obtained a copy of that will, with which I personally appeared, and declared to the court, that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his suits, nor be responsible for his legacies, and required only his father's estates, according to the legal will, which I produced. Nothing could be more just or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my astonishment, to be told, in open court, that her majesty had declared, I must either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the entire inheritance. I ventured to remonstrate, but the will of the court was determined and absolute; I must become a Roman Catholic.

In this extremity, I bribed a priest, who gave me a signed attestation, "That I had abjured the cursed heresy of Lutheranism." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embassy, and I related to him the lamentable state in which I found my affairs. He spoke to the empress in my behalf, and she promised every thing. He advised me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and make myself responsible for the depending suits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return would be speedy; he would then take the management of my affairs upon himself, and ensure my good fortune in Austria. Bernes loved me as his son, and I had reason to hope, from his assurance, I should be largely remembered in his will, which was the more probable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes; but he had scarcely been absent six weeks, before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may be credited, was effected by poison, administered by a *friend*.

My ills were increased by a new accident. Soon after the departure of Bernes, the Prussian minister,

taking me aside in the house of the Palatine envoy, M. Beckers, proposed my return to Berlin, assured me the king had forgotten all that was passed, was convinced of my innocence, that my good fortune would there be certain, and he pledged his honour to recover the inheritance of Trenck.

Having rejected the proposition of the Prussian envoy, all my hopes in Vienna were ruined; for Frederick, by his residents and emissaries, knew how to effect whatever he pleased in foreign courts, and determined that the Trenck, who would no longer serve or confide in him, should at least find no opportunity of serving against him: I soon became painted to the empress as an arch heretic, who never would be faithful to the house of Austria, and only endeavoured to obtain the inheritance of Trenck, that he might devote himself to Prussia.

I was now obliged to declare myself heir, but always *avec réservations juris mei*, not as simply claiming under the will of Francis Trenck. I was obliged to take upon myself the management of the sixty-three suits. I only received from the whole estate of Trenck three thousand six hundred florins in three years, which were scarcely sufficient to defray the expense of new-year's gifts to the solicitors and masters in chancery. How did I labour in stating and transcribing proofs for the court! The money I possessed soon vanished. My Prussian relations supported me, and the Countess Bestuchef sent me four thousand rubles. I had also remittances from Prussia, and, in addition, was obliged to borrow money, at the usurious rate of sixty per cent. Bewildered, as I was, among lawyers and knaves, my ambition still prompted me to proceed; but my property was expended, and, at length, I could only obtain that the contested estates should be made a *Fidei commissum*, or put under trust, whereby, though they were protected from being the further prey of others, I did not inherit them as mine.

In three years, however, I brought my ~~sixty-three~~ ~~stits~~ to a kind of conclusion: the probabilities were, ~~this~~ could not have been effected in fifty. Exclusive of my assiduity, the means I took must not be told; it is sufficient that I here learned what judges were, and thus am enabled to describe them to others.

For a few ducats, the president's servant used to admit me into a closet where I could see every thing as perfectly as if I had myself been one of the council. This often was useful, and taught me to prevent evil; and often was I scarcely able to refrain bursting in upon this court.

Their appointed hour of meeting was nine in the morning, but they seldom assembled before eleven. The president then told his beads, and muttered his prayers. Some one got up and harangued, while the remainder, in pairs, amused themselves with talking, instead of listening; after which, the news of the day became the common topic of conversation, and the council broke up, the court being first adjourned some three weeks, without coming to any determination. This was called, *Judicium delegatum in causis Trenckianis*; and when, at last, they came to a conclusion, the sentence was such as I shall ever shudder at and abhor.

The real estates of Trenck, and the annual income of these was 60,000 florins, contained more than two hundred villages and hamlets. The laws of Hungary require,

1st. That those who purchase estates shall obtain the royal consent.

2d. That the seller shall possess and make over the right of property, together with that of transferring or alienating; and

3dly. That the purchaser shall be a native born, or have bought his naturalization.

In default of all or any of these, the Fiscus, on the death of the purchaser, takes possession, repaying the

purchase-money, together with what can be shown to have been laid out in improvements, or the sum at which it stands rated in the Fiscal register.

Without form or notice, the Hungarian Fiscal president, Count Grassalkowitz, took possession of all the Trenck estates, on his decease, in the name of the Fiscus. The prize was great, not so much because of the estates themselves, as the personal property upon them. Trenck had sent loads of merchandise to his estates, of linen, ingots of gold and silver, from Bavaria, Alsatia, and Silesia. He had a vast storehouse of arms and of saddles, also the great silver service of the Emperor Charles VII. which he had brought from Munich, with the service of plate of the king of Prussia, and the personal property of these estates was affirmed considerably to exceed in value the estates themselves.

I was, not long since, informed, by one of the first generals, whose honour is undoubted, that several wagons were loaded with these rich effects, and sent to Mihalefze. His testimony was indubitable; he knew the two Pandours, who were the confidants of Trenck, and the keepers of his treasures, and these, during the general plunder, each seized a bag of pearls, and fled to Turkey, where they became wealthy merchants. His rich studs of horses were taken, and the very cows driven off the farms. His stand of arms consisted of more than three thousand rare pieces. Trenck had affirmed, he had sent linen, to the value of fifty thousand florins, in chests, from Dannhausen and Gerfdorf, in the county of Glatz, to his estates; the pillage was general, and, when orders came to send all the property of Trenck, and deliver it to its universal heir, nothing remained that any person would accept. I have myself seen, in a certain Hungarian nobleman's house, some valuable arms, which I positively knew I had been robbed of; and I bought at Esseck some silver plates, on which were the arms of Prussia, that had

been sold by Counsellor D——n, who had been empowered to take possession of these estates, and had thus rendered himself rich. Of this I procured an attestation, and proved the theft; I complained aloud, at Vienna, but received an order from the court to be silent, under pain of displeasure, and also to go no more into Slavonia. The principal reason of my loss of the landed property in Hungary, was my having dared to make inquiries concerning the personal, not one guinea of which was ever brought to account. I then proved my right to the family estates left by my uncle, beyond all dispute, and also those purchased by my cousin. The commissioners appointed to inquire into these rights even confirmed them, yet, after they had been thus established, I received the following order from the court, in the hand of the empress herself: "The President, Count Grassalkowitz, takes it upon his conscience, that the Slavonian estates do not descend to Trenck, *in natura*; he must, therefore, receive the *summa emptitia et inscriptitia*, together with the money he can show to have been expended in improvements."

And herewith ended my pleadings and my hopes. I had sacrificed my property, laboured through sixty-three inferior suits, and lost this great cause without a trial. I could have remained satisfied with the loss of the personal property; the booty of a soldier, like the wealth amassed by a minister, appears to be little better than a public robbery; but the acquirements of my ancestors, which descended to me by right, I could not be deprived of without excessive cruelty.

The president, it is true, did not immediately possess himself of the estates, but he took good care his friends should have them at such rates, that the sale of them did not bring the Fiscal treasury 150,000 dollars; while I, in real and personal property, lost a million and a half; nay, probably a sum equal to this in personal property alone.

The *summa inscriptitia et emptitia*, for all these great estates, only amounted to 149,000 florins, and this was to be paid by the chamber; but the president thought proper to deduct 10,000, on pretence the cattle had been driven off the estate of Pakratz; and, further, 36,000 more, under the shameful pretence, that Trenck, to recruit his Pandours, had drained the estates of 3600 vassals, who had never returned: the estates, therefore, must make them good, at the rate of thirty florins per head, which would have amounted to 108,000 florins; but, with much difficulty, this sum was reduced, as above stated, to 36,000 florins, each vassal reckoned at ten florins per head. Thus was I obliged, from the property of my family, to pay for 3600 men, who had gloriously died in war, in defence of the contested rights of the great Maria Theresa; who had raised so many millions of contributions for her in the countries of her enemies: who, sword in hand, had stormed, and taken so many towns, and dispersed, or taken prisoners, so many thousand of her foes.

All deductions made for legacies, fees, and formalities, there remained to me 63,000 florins, with which I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, and I was obliged to pay six thousand florins for my naturalization. Thus, when the sums are enumerated, which I expended on the suits of Trenck, received from my friends at Berlin and Petersburg, it will be found that I cannot, at least, have been a gainer by having been made the universal heir of the immensely rich Trenck.

I will here add a few particulars, which may give a picture of the manner in which the prosecution was carried on against Trenck.

One Schygrai, a silly kind of beggarly baron, who was treated as a buffoon, was invited, in the year 1743, to dine with Baron Pejaczewitz, when Trenck happened to be present. The conversation happened to turn on brandy, and Trenck jocularly said, he annually dis-

tilled brandy from cow-dung, to the amount of thirty thousand florins. Schygrai supposed him serious, and wished to learn the art, which Trenck promised to teach him. Pejaczewitz told him he could give him thirty thousand loads of dung. "But where shall I get the wood?" said Schygrai. "I will give you 20,000 klafters," answered Trenck. The credulous baron thinking himself very fortunate, desired written promises, which they gave him; and that of Trenck thus:

"I hereby permit and empower Baron Schygrai to fell, gratis, in the forest of Tscherra Horra, thirty thousand klafters of wood.

"Witness my hand, TRENCK."

Trenck was no sooner dead, than the baron brought his note, and made application to the court. His attorney was the noted Bussy, and the court decreed the estates of Trenck should pay at the rate of one florin thirty kreutzers per klafter, or forty-five thousand florins, with all costs, and an order was given the administrators to pay the money.

Just at this time I arrived at Vienna, from Petersburg. Doctor Berger, the advocate of Trenck, told me the affair would admit of no delay. I hastened to the empress, and obtained an order to delay payment. An inquiry was instituted, and this forest of Tscherra Horra was found to be situated in Turkey. The absurdity and injustice were flagrant, and it was revoked. I cannot say how much of these forty-five thousand florins the baron had promised to the noble judge and the attorney; I only know that neither of them were punished. Had not some holidays luckily intervened, or had the attorney expected my arrival, the money would have been paid.

During Trenck's prosecution, an advertisement had appeared in the Vienna Gazette, inviting all, who had any demands or complaints against him, to appear, with the promise of a ducat a day; and it is here proper to add, that the sum of fifteen thousand florins were

brought to account, and paid out of the estate of Trenck. For this shameful purpose, some thousands of florins were paid, beside, to this species of claimants; and though, after examination, their pretensions all proved to be futile, and themselves were cast in damages, yet was none of this money ever refunded, or the false claimants punished. Again: Trenck was accused of having appropriated the money of the regiment to his own use, and treated as if convicted. After his death, a considerable demand was, accordingly made. I happened, however, to meet with Ruckhardt, his quarter-master: he, with asseverations, declared that, instead of being indebted to his regiment, the regiment was more than a hundred thousand florins indebted to him, advised me to get attestations from the captains, and assured me, he himself would give in a clear statement of the regiment's accounts.

I followed his advice, hastened to the regiment, and obtained so many proofs, that the quarter-master of the regiment, who, in concurrence with the major, had, in reality, pocketed the money, was imprisoned, and put in irons. What became of the thief, or the false witness afterwards, I know not; I only know, that nothing was refunded, that the quarter-master found protectors, detained the money, and, some years after this vile action, purchased a commission. One instance more:

Trenck, to the corps of infantry he commanded, added a corps of hussars, which he raised, and provided with horses and accoutrements at his own expense. These hussars were disbanded after his death, and the horses and accoutrements sold by auction. My demand, on this account, was upwards of sixty thousand florins; to which I received neither money nor supply. He had also expended a hundred thousand florins, for raising and equipping his three thousand Pandours; in consequence of which, a signed agreement had been given him, by government, that these hundred thousand

Florins should be repaid to his heir, or he, the heir, should receive the command of the regiment. The regiment, however, at his decease, was given to General Simachen, and, as for the agreement, care was taken it should never come into my hands. Thus, these hundred thousand florins were lost.

Yet it has been wickedly affirmed, he was imprisoned in the Spielberg, for having embezzled the regiment's money.

With respect to the money that was to have been repaid for improvement of the estates, I must add, these estates were bought at a time when the country had been left desolate by the Turks, and the reinstatement of such places as had fallen into their hands, and the erecting of farm-houses, mills, stocking them with horses, cattle, and seed-corn, according to my poor estimate, could not amount to less than eighty thousand florins; but I was forbidden to go into Sclavonia, and the president offered, as an indemnification, four thousand florins. Every body was astonished; but he, with the utmost coolness, told me, I must either accept this or nothing. The hearers of this sentence cast their eyes up to heaven, and pitied me. I remonstrated, and thereby only made the matter worse. Grief and anxiety occasioned me to take a journey into Italy, passing through Venice, Rome, and Florence.

On my return to Vienna, I, by a friendly interference in behalf of a woman, whose fears, rather than guilt, had brought her into danger, became suspected myself, and the very officious officers of the police had me imprisoned, as a coiner, without the least grounds for any such accusation, except their own surmises. I was detained, unheard, nine days, and when, having been heard, I had entirely justified myself, was again restored to liberty; public declaration was then made, in the Gazette, that the officers of the police had acted too precipitately.

This was the satisfaction granted, but this did not content me. I threatened the counsellor, by whom any character had been so aspersed; and the empress, condescending to mediate, bestowed on me a captainship of cavalry, in the Cordova cuirassiers.

Discontent led me to join my regiment in Hungary.

Here I gained the applause of my colonel, Count Bettoni, who, himself, told the empress, I, more than any other, had contributed to the forming of the regiment. It may well be imagined, how a man like me, accustomed, as I had been, to the first company of the first courts, must pass my time among the Carpathian mountains, where neither society nor good books were to be found, nor knowledge, of which I was enamoured, improved. The conversation of Count Bettoni, and the chase, together with the love of the general of the regiment, old Field-Marshal Cordova, were my only resources; the persecutions, neglect, and even contempt, I received at Vienna, were still the same.

In the year 1754, and the month of March, my mother died in Prussia, and I requested permission of the court that held the inheritance of Trenck, as a *fidei commissum*, to take a journey to Dantzic, to settle some family affairs with my brothers and sister, my estates being confiscated. This permission was granted, and thither I went in May.

My principal intent, however, was a journey to Petersburg, there to seek the advice and aid of my friends, for law and persecution were not yet ended at Vienna, and my captain's pay and small income were scarcely sufficient to defray the charges of attorneys and counsellors.

It is here most worthy of remark, that I was told by Prince Ferdinand, of Brunswick, governor of Magdeburg, he had received orders to prepare my prison at Magdeburg, before I set out from Hungary.

Nay, more, it had been written from Vienna to Berlin that the king must beware of Trenck, for that he

would be at Dantzic at the time when the king was to visit his camp in Prussia.

I was immediately visited by my brothers and sister, on my arrival at Dantzic, where we lived happy in each other's company, during a fortnight, and an amicable partition was made of my mother's effects: my sister perfectly justified herself concerning the manner in which I was obliged to fly from her house in the year 1746; our parting was kind, and as a brother and sister ought to part.

Our only acquaintance in Dantzic was the Austrian resident, M. Abramson, to whom I brought letters of recommendation, from Vienna, and whose reception of us was polite, even to extravagance.

This Abramson was a Prussian born, and had never seen Vienna, but obtained his then office by the recommendation of Count Bestuchef, without security for his good conduct, or proof of his good morals, heart or head. He was in close connexion with the Prussian resident Reimer, and was made the instrument of my ruin.

Scarcely had my brothers and sister departed, before I determined to make a voyage, by sea, to Russia. Abramson contrived a thousand artifices, by which he detained me a week longer in Dantzic, that he, in conjunction with Reimer, might make the necessary preparations.

The king of Prussia had demanded, that the magistrates of Dantzic should deliver me up, but this could not be done without offending the Imperial court, I being a commissioned officer in that service, with proper passports: it was, therefore, probable that this negotiation required letters should pass and repass: and, for this reason, Abramson was employed to detain me some days longer, till, by the last letters from Berlin, the magistrates of Dantzic were induced to violate public safety and the laws of nations. Abramson I

considered as my best friend, and my person as in perfect security; he had, therefore, no difficulty in persuading me to stay.

The day of supposed departure on board a Swedish ship, for Riga, approached, and the deceitful Abramson promised me to send one of his servants to the port, to know the hour. At four in the afternoon, he told me he had himself spoken to the captain, who said he should not sail till the next day; adding, that he, Abramson, would expect me to breakfast, and would then accompany me to the vessel. I felt a secret inquietude, which made me desirous of leaving Dantzic, and immediately to send all my baggage, and sleep on board. Abramson prevented me, dragged me, almost forcibly, along with him, telling me he had much company, and that I must absolutely dine and sup at his house: accordingly, I did not return to my inn till eleven at night.

I was but just in bed, when I heard a knocking at my door, which was not shut, and two of the city magistrates, with twenty grenadiers, entered my chamber, and surrounded my bed so suddenly, that I had not time to take my arms and defend myself. My three servants had been secured, and I was told that the most worthy magistracy of Dantzic was obliged to deliver me up, as a delinquent, to his majesty the king of Prussia.

They silently conducted me to the city prison, where I remained twenty-four hours. About noon, Abramson came to visit me, affected to be infinitely concerned and enraged, and affirmed, he had strongly protested against the illegality of this proceeding to the magistracy, as I was actually in the Austrian service; but that they had answered him, the court of Vienna had afforded them a precedent, for that, in the year 1752, they had done the same by the two sons of the burgo-master Rutenberg, of Dantzic, and that, therefore, they

were justified in making reprisal; that likewise they durst not refuse the most earnest request, accompanied with threats of the king of Prussia.

The plea of retaliation originated as follows: there was a kind of club of Vienna, the members of which were seized for having committed the utmost extravagance and debauchery, two of whom were the sons of the burgomaster Rutenberg, and who were sentenced to the pillory. Great sums were offered by the father, to avoid this public disgrace, but ineffectually; they were punished: their punishment was legal, and had no similarity whatever to my case, nor could it any way justly give pretence of reprisal.

Abramson, who had in reality entered no protest whatever, but rather excited the magistracy, and acted in concert with Reimer, advised me to put my writings, and other valuable effects, into his hands, otherwise they would be seized. He knew I had received, in letters of exchange, from my brothers and sister, about seven thousand florins, and these I gave him, but kept my ring, worth about four thousand, and some sixty guineas, which I had in my purse. He then embraced me, declared nothing should be neglected to effect my immediate deliverance, that even he would raise the populace for that purpose, that I could not be given up to the Prussians in less than a week, the magistracy being still undetermined in an affair so serious, and he left me, shedding abundance of crocodile tears, like the most affectionate of friends.

The next night, two magistrates, with their posse, came to my prison, attended by Resident Reimer, a Prussian officer, and under-officers, and into their hands I was delivered. The pillage instantly began; Reimer tore off my ring, seized my watch, snuff-box, and all I had, not so much as sending me a coat or shirt from my effects; after which they put me into a close coach with three Prussians. The Dantzic guard accompanied the carriage to the city gate, that was opened to let

me pass, after which, the Dantzic dragoons escorted me as far as Lauenburg, in Pomerania.

Thirty Prussian hussars, commanded by a lieutenant, relieved the dragoons, at Lauenburg, and thus was I escorted from garrison to garrison, till I arrived at Berlin.

Hence it was evidently falsely affirmed, by the magistracy of Dantzic, and the conspirator Abramson, who wrote, in his own excuse, to Vienna, that my seizure must be attributed wholly to my own imprudence, and that I had exposed myself to this arrest, by going without the city gates, where I was taken and carried off; nor is it less astonishing that the court of Vienna should not have demanded satisfaction for the treachery of the Dantzickers towards an Austrian officer; I having incontrovertibly proved this treachery after I had regained my liberty. Abramson, indeed, they could not punish, for, during my imprisonment, he had quitted the Austrian for the Prussian service, where he had gradually become so contemptible, that, in the year 1746, when I was released from my imprisonment, he was himself imprisoned in the house of correction; and his wife, lately so rich, was obliged to beg her bread. Thus, have I generally lived to see the fall of my betrayers; and thus have I found, that, without indulging personal revenge, virtue and fortitude must, at length, triumph over the calumniator and the despot.

I was escorted from garrison to garrison, which were distant from each other two, three, or, at most, five miles; wherever I came I found compassion and respect. The detachment of hussars only attended me two days; it consisted of twelve men and an officer, who rode with me in the carriage.

The fourth day I arrived at ———, where the duke of Wirtemberg, father of the present grand duchess of Russia, was commander, and where his regiment was in quarters. The duke conversed with me, was

much moved, invited me to dine, and detained me all the day, where I was not treated as a prisoner. I so far gained his esteem, that I was allowed to remain there the next day: the chief persons of the place were assembled, and the dutchess, whom he had lately married, testified every mark of pity and esteem. I staid dinner with him also on the third day; after which, I departed in an open carriage, without escort, attended only by a lieutenant of his regiment.

I must relate this event circumstantially, for it not only proves the just and noble character of the duke, but, likewise, that there are moments in which the brave may appear cowards, the clear-sighted blind, and the wise foolish; nay, one might almost be led to conclude from this, that my imprisonment at Magdeburg was the consequence of predestination, since I remained riveted in stupor, in despair of suggestions, forbodings, and favourable opportunities. Who but must be astonished, having read the daring efforts I made at Glatz, at this strange insensibility, now in the very crisis of my fate? I afterward was convinced, it was the intention of the noble-minded duke, that I should escape, and that he must have given particular orders to the successive officers. He would probably have willingly subjected himself to the reprimands of Frederick, if I would have taken to flight. The journey through the places where his regiment was stationed continued five days, and I every where passed the evenings in the company of the officers, the kindness of whom was unbounded. I slept in their quarters, without sentinels, and travelled in their carriages, without other guard than a single officer in the carriage. In various places, the high road was not more than two, and sometimes, one mile from the frontier road; therefore nothing could have been easier than to have escaped; yet did the same Trenck, who, in Glatz, had cut his way through thirty men, to obtain his freedom, that Trenck, who had never been

acquainted with fear, now remain four days bewildered, and unable to come to any determination.

In a small garrison town I lodged in the house of a captain of cavalry, and continually was treated by him with every mark of friendship. After dinner, he rode at the head of his squadron, to water the horse, unsaddled. I remained alone in the house, entered the stable, saw three remaining horses, with saddles and bridles: in my chamber was a sword and a pair of pistols. I had but to mount one of the horses, and fly at the opposite gate. I meditated on the project, and almost resolved to put it in execution, but presently became undetermined by some secret impulse. The captain returned some time after, and appeared surprised to find me still there. The next day he accompanied me alone in his carriage. We came to a forest; he saw some champignons, stopped, asked me to alight, and help to gather them. He strayed more than a hundred paces from me, and gave me entire liberty to fly; yet, notwithstanding all this, I voluntarily returned, suffering myself to be led like a sheep to the slaughter.

I was treated so well, and escorted with so much negligence, that I fell into a gross error. Perceiving they conveyed me straight to Berlin, I imagined the king wished to question me concerning the plan formed for the war, which was then on the point of breaking out. This plan I perfectly knew, the secret correspondence of Bestuchef having all passed through my hands, which circumstance was much better known at Berlin than at Vienna. Confirmed in this opinion, and far from imagining the fate that awaited me, I remained irresolute, insensible, and blind to danger.

After four days' march, I quitted the district under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, and was delivered up to the first garrison of infantry, at Coeslin. The last of the Wirtemberg officers, when taking leave

of me, appeared to be greatly affected; and from this moment till I came to Berlin, I was put under a strong escort, and the given orders were rigorously observed.

Arrived here, I was lodged over the grand guard-house, with two sentinels in my chamber, and one at the door. The king was at Potsdam, and here I remained three days: on the third, some staff officers made their appearance, seated themselves at a table, and put the following questions to me:

First, What was my business at Dantzic?

Secondly, Whether I was acquainted with M. Goltz, Prussian ambassador, in Russia?

Thirdly, Who was concerned with me in the conspiracy at Dantzic?

When I perceived their intentions by these interrogations, I absolutely refused to reply, only saying, I had been imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz, without hearing or trial by court-martial; that, availing myself of the laws of nature, I had, by my own exertions, procured my liberty, and that I was now a captain of cavalry in the Imperial service; that I demanded a legal trial for my first unknown offences, after which I engaged to answer all interrogatories, and prove my innocence; but that, at present, being accused of new crimes, without a hearing concerning my former punishment, the procedure was illegal. I was told, they had no orders concerning this, and I remained dumb to all further questions.

They wrote some two hours, God knows what. A carriage came up; I was strictly searched, to find whether I had any weapons; thirteen or fourteen ducats, which I had concealed, were taken from me; and I was conducted, under a strong escort, through Spandau to Magdeburg. The officers here delivered me up to the captain of the guard, at the citadel: the town-major came and brought me to the dungeon expressly prepared for me. A small picture of the Coun-

tears of Bestuchef, set with diamonds, which I had kept concealed in my bosom, was now taken from me; the door was shut, and here was I left.

My dungeon was in a casemate, the forepart of which, six feet wide and ten feet long, was divided by a party-wall. In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the casemate itself. The window in the seven feet thick wall was so situated, that, though I had light, I could see neither heaven nor earth. I could only see the roof of the magazine. Within and without this window were iron bars, and, in the space between, an iron grating, so close and so situated by the rising of the walls, that it was impossible I should see any person without the prison, or that any person should see me. On the outside was a wooden palisade, six feet from the wall, by which the sentinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a mattress and a bedstead, but which was immovably ironed to the floor, so that it was impossible I should drag it, and stand up to the window. Beside the door was a small iron stove and a night-table; in like manner fixed to the floor. I was not yet put in irons, and my allowance was a pot and a half per day of ammunition bread, and a jug of water.

From my youth I had always had a good appetite, and my bread was so mouldy I could scarcely at first eat the half of it. This was the consequence of Major Rieding's avarice, who endeavoured to profit even by this, so great was the number of unfortunate prisoners; therefore it is impossible I should describe to my reader the excess of tortures, that, during eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could easily every day have devoured six pounds of bread; and every twenty-four hours, after having received and swallowed my small portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet must wait another twenty-four hours for a new morsel. How willingly would I have

signed a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have satiated my hunger on dry bread! For so extreme was it, that scarcely had I dropped into a sweet sleep, before I dreamed I was feasting at some table, luxuriously loaded, where, eating like a glutton, the whole company were astonished to see me, while my imagination was heated by the sensation of famine. Awakened by the pains of hunger, the dishes vanished, and nothing remained but the reality of my distress; the cravings of nature were but inflamed; my tortures prevented sleep, and, looking into futurity, the cruelty of my fate suffered, if possible, increase, from imagining, that the prolongation of pangs like these was insupportable. My hunger increased every day; and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of eleven months, was the most bitter.

Petitions, remonstrances, were of no avail; the answer was, "We must give no more, such is the king's command." The governor, General Bork, born the enemy of man, replied, when I entreated at least to have my fill of bread, "You have feasted often enough out of the service of plate taken from the king, by Trenck, at the battle of Sorau; you must now eat ammunition bread in your dirty kennel. Your empress makes no allowance for your maintenance, and you are unworthy of the bread you eat."

My three doors were kept ever shut, and I was left to such meditations as such feelings and such hopes might inspire. Daily, about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept by the governor; the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture. The prison doors were opened only once a week, on a Wednesday, when the governor and town-major, my hole having been first cleaned, paid their visit.

Having remained thus two months, and observed this method was invariable, I began to execute a project which I had formed, of the possibility of which I was convinced.

Where the night-table and stove stood, the floor was bricked, and this paving extended to the wall that separated my casemate from the adjoining one, in which was no prisoner. My window was only guarded by a single sentinel; I therefore soon found among those who successively relieved guard two kind-hearted fellows, who described to me the situation of my prison; hence I perceived I might effect my escape, could I but penetrate into the adjoining casemate, the door of which was not shut. Provided I had a friend and a boat waiting for me at the Elbe, or could I swim across that river, the confines of Saxony were but a mile distant.

I worked through the iron eighteen inches long, by which the night-table was fastened, and broke off the clinchings of the nails, but preserved their heads, that I might put them again in their places, and all might appear secure to my weekly visitors. This procured me tools to raise up the brick floor, under which I found earth. My first attempt was to work a hole through the wall, seven feet thick behind, and concealed by the night-table. The first layer was of brick. I afterwards came to large hewn stones. I endeavoured accurately to number and remember the bricks, both of the flooring and the wall, so that I might replace them, and all might appear safe. This having accomplished, I proceeded.

The day preceding visitation all was carefully replaced, and the intervening mortar as carefully preserved; the whole had probably been whitewashed a hundred times; and, that I might fill up all remaining interstices, I pounded the white stuff this afforded, wetted it, made a brush of my hair, then applied this plaster, washed it over that the colour might be uni-

form, and afterwards stripped myself, and sat with my naked body against the place, by the heat of which it was dried.

While labouring, I placed the stones and bricks upon my bedstead, and, had they taken the precaution to come at any other time of the week, the stated Wednesday excepted, I had inevitably been discovered: but, as no such ill accident befell me, in six months my Herculean labours gave me a prospect of success.

Means were to be found to remove the rubbish from my prison: all of which, in a wall so thick, it was impossible to replace: mortar and stone could not be removed. I, therefore, took the earth, scattered it about my chamber, and ground it under my feet the whole day, till I had reduced it to dust; this dust I strewed in the aperture of my window, making use of the loosened night-table to stand upon. I tied splinters from my bedstead together, with the ravelled yarn of an old stocking, and to this affixed a tuft of my hair. I worked a large hole under the middle grating, which could not be seen when standing on the ground, and through this I pushed my dust, with the tool I had prepared, to the outer window, then, waiting till the wind should happen to rise, during the night I brushed it away; it was blown off, and no appearance remained on the outside. By this single expedient, I rid myself of at least three hundred weight of earth, and thus made room to continue my labours; yet, this being still insufficient, I had recourse to another artifice, which was to knead up the earth in the form of sausages, to resemble the human fæces: these I dried, and when the prisoner came to clean my dungeon, hastily tossed them into the night-table, and thus disencumbered myself of a pound or two more of earth each week. I further made little balls, and, when the sentinel was walking, blew them through a paper tube, out of the window. Into the empty space I put my mortar and stones, and worked on successfully.

I cannot, however, describe my difficulties, after having penetrated about two feet into the hewn stone. My tools were the irons I had dug out, which fastened my bedstead and night-table. A compassionate soldier also gave me an old iron ramrod, and a soldier's sheath knife, which did me excellent service, more especially the latter. With these, too, I cut splinters from my bedstead, which aided me to pick the mortar from the interstices of the stone ; yet the labour of penetrating through this seven feet wall was incredible. The building was ancient, and the mortar, occasionally, quite petrified, so that the whole stone was obliged to be reduced to dust. After continuing my work, unremittingly, for six months, I, at length, approached the accomplishment of my hopes, as I knew by coming to the facing of the brick, which, now, was only between me and the adjoining casemate.

Mean time, I found opportunity to speak to some of the sentinels, among whom was an old grenadier called Gefhardt, whom I here name, because he displayed qualities of the greatest and most noble kind. From him I learned the exact situation of my prison, and every circumstance that might best conduce to my escape.

Nothing was wanting but money to buy a boat, and, crossing the Elbe with Gefhardt, to take refuge in Saxony. By Gefhardt's means, I became acquainted with a kind hearted girl, a Jewess, and a native of Dessau, Esther Heymannin by name, whose father had been ten years in prison. This good, compassionate maiden, whom I had never seen, won over two other grenadiers, who gave her an opportunity of speaking to me every time they stood sentinel. By tying my splinters together, I made a stick long enough to reach beyond the palisades that were before my window, and thus obtained paper, another knife, and a file.

I now wrote to my sister, described my situation, and entreated her to remit three hundred rix dollars to

the Jewess, hoping, by this means, I might escape from my prison. I wrote another affecting letter to Count Puebla, the Austrian ambassador at Berlin, in which was enclosed a draft for a thousand florins, on my effects at Vienna, desiring him to remit these to the Jewess, having promised her that sum as a reward for her fidelity. She was to bring the three hundred rix dollars my sister should send to me, and take measures, with the grenadiers, to facilitate my flight, which nothing seemed able to prevent, I having the power either to break into the casemate, or, aided by the grenadiers and the Jewess, to cut the locks from the doors, and that way escape from my dungeon. The letters were open, I being obliged to roll them round the stick to convey them to Esther.

The faithful girl straightway proceeded to Berlin, where she arrived safe, and immediately spoke to Count Puebla. The count gave her the kindest reception, received the letter of exchange, and bade her go and speak to Weingarten, the secretary of the embassy, and act entirely as he should direct. She was received by him in the most friendly manner, who, by his questions, drew from her the whole secret, and our intended plan of flight, aided by the two grenadiers, and, also, that she had a letter for my sister, which she must carry to Hammer, near Custrin. He asked to see this letter, read it, told her to proceed on her journey, gave her two ducats to bear her expenses, ordered her to come to him on her return, said that during this interval he would endeavour to obtain her the thousand florins for my draft, and would then give her further instructions.

Esther cheerfully departed for Hammer, where my sister, then a widow, and no longer in dread of her husband, joyful to hear I was still living, immediately gave her the three hundred rix dollars, exhorting her to exert every possible means to obtain my deliverance. Esther hastened back with the letter from my sister to

me to Berlin, and told all that had passed to Weingarten, who read the letter, and inquired the names of the two grenadiers. He told her the thousand florins from Vienna were not yet come, but gave her twelve ducats, bade her hasten back to Magdeburg, to carry me all this good news, and then to return to Berlin, where he would pay her the thousand florins. Esther came to Magdeburg, went immediately to the citadel and, most luckily, met the wife of one of the grenadiers, who told her that her husband and his comrade had been taken and put in irons the day before. Esther had quickness of perception, and suspected we had been betrayed: she therefore instantly again began her travels, and happily came safe to Dessau.

Here I must interrupt my narrative, that I may explain this infernal enigma to my readers, an account of which I received after I had obtained my freedom, and still possess in the hand-writing of this Jewess. Weingarten, as afterwards discovered, was a traitor, and too much trusted by Count Puebla, he being a spy in the pay of Prussia, and who had revealed to the court of Berlin, not only the secrets of the Imperial embassy, but also the whole plan of the projected war.—For this reason he afterwards, when war broke out, remained at Berlin, in the Prussian service. His reason for betraying me was, that he might secure the thousand florins which I had drawn for on Vienna; for the receipt of the 24th of May, 1755, attests that the sum was paid by the administrators of my effects to Count Puebla, and has since been brought to account; nor can I believe that Weingarten did not appropriate this sum to himself, since I cannot be persuaded the ambassador would commit such an action, although the receipt is in his hand-writing, as may easily be demonstrated, it being now in my possession. Thus did Weingarten, that he might detain a thousand florins, with impunity, bring new evils upon me, and upon my sister which occasioned her premature death;

caused one grenadier to run the gantlet three successive days, and another to be hung.

Eather alone escaped, and since gave me an elucidation of the whole affair. The report at Magdeburg was, that a Jewess had obtained money from my sister, and bribed two grenadiers, and that one of these had trusted, and been betrayed by his comrade. The truth, however, is as I have stated; my account book exists, and the Jewess is still alive.

Her poor imprisoned father was punished with more than a hundred blows to make him declare whether his daughter had intrusted him with the plot, or if he knew whither she was fled; and miserably died in fetters.

I had heard nothing of what had happened for some days; at length, however, it was the honest Gefhardt's turn to mount guard; but the posts being doubled, and two additional grenadiers placed before my door, explanation was exceedingly difficult. He, however, in spite of precaution, found means to inform me what had happened to his two unfortunate comrades.

The king came to a review at Magdeburg, when he visited the Star Fort, and commanded a new cell to be immediately made, prescribing, himself, the kind of irons, by which I was to be secured. The honest Gefhardt heard the officer say this cell was meant for me; gave me notice of it, but assured me it could not be ready in less than a month. I therefore determined, as soon as possible, to complete my breach in the wall, and escape without the aid of any one. The thing was possible; for I had twisted the hair of my mattress into a rope, which I meant to tie to a cannon, and descend the rampart; after which I might swim across the Elbe, gain the Saxon frontiers, and thus safely escape.

On the 26th of May, I had determined to break into the next casemate; but, when I came to work at the

shall I make the reader feel as I then felt? how describe my despondency, and yet account for that latent impulse that withheld my hand on this fatal, this miserable night?

Such were my meditations; such my night-thoughts. Day at length returned: but where was its splendour? Fled—I beheld it not; yet was its glimmering obscurity sufficient to show me what was my dungeon.

In breadth, it was about eight feet; in length, ten. Near me once more stood a night-table; in a corner was a seat four-bricks broad, on which I might sit, and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring to which I was fastened, the light was admitted through a semi-circular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick; and at this central part was a close iron grating, from which, outward, the aperture descended, and its two extremities were again secured by strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which the light entered, was so covered by the wall of the rampart, that, instead of finding immediate passage, the light only gained admission by reflection. This, considering the smallness of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, must needs make the obscurity great; yet my eyes in time became so accustomed to this glimmering, that I could see a mouse run. In winter, however, when the sun did not shine into the ditch, it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glass window, with a small central casement, which might be opened to admit air. My night-table was daily removed, and beside me stood a jug of water. The name of *TRENCK* was built in the wall in red brick, and under my feet was a tomb-stone, with the name of *TRENCK* also cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick; without these was an open space, or

front cell, in which was a window, and this space was likewise shut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was enclosed on both sides by palisadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was intrusted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all possibility of speech or communication with the sentinels. The only motion I had the power to make was that of jumping upward, or swinging my arms, to procure myself warmth. When more accustomed to these fetters, I was likewise capable of moving them from side to side, about four feet, but this pained my shin bones.

The cell had been finished with lime and plaster but eleven days, and every body supposed it would be impossible I should exist in these damps above a fortnight. I remained six months continually immersed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was ; and I can safely affirm, that, for the first three months, I was never dry ; yet did I continue in health. I was visited daily, at noon, after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for some minutes, otherwise the dampness of the air put out their candles.

This was my situation, and here I sat, destitute of friends, helplessly wretched, preyed on by all the torture of thought, that continually suggested the most gloomy, the most dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to stone ; my fortitude was sunken to despondency ; my dungeon was the very cave of despair ; yet was my arm restrained, yet was this excess of misery endured.

About noon my den was opened. Sorrow and compassion were painted on the countenances of my keepers. No one spoke ; no one bade me good-morrow. Dreadful, indeed, was their arrival ; for, unaccustomed to the monstrous bolts and bars, they were kept resounding for a full half hour, before such soul-chilling,

such hope-murdering impediments were removed. It was the voice of tyranny that thundered !

My night-table was taken out, a camp-bed, mattress, and blankets, were brought me ; a jug of water set down, and beside it an ammunition loaf, of six pounds' weight. " That you no more may complain of hunger," said the town-major, " you shall have as much bread as you can eat." The door was shut, and I again left to my thoughts.

What a strange thing is that called happiness ! How shall I express my extreme joy, when, after eleven months of intolerable hunger, I was again indulged with a full feast of coarse ammunition bread ! The fond lover never rushed more eagerly to the arms of his expecting bride, the famished tiger more ravenously on his prey, than I upon this loaf : I eat, rested, surveyed the precious morsel, eat again, and absolutely shed tears of pleasure. Breaking bit after bit, I had, by evening, devoured all my loaf.

Alas ! my enjoyment was of short duration. I soon found that excess is followed by pain and repentance. My fasting had weakened my digestion, and rendered it inactive. My body swelled ; my water-jug was emptied ; cramps, colics, and, at length, inordinate thirst, racked me all the night. I began to pour curses on those who seemed to refine on torture, and, after starving me so long, to invite me to gluttony. Could I not have reclined on my bed, I should indeed have been driven this night to desperation ; yet even this was but a partial relief ; for, not accustomed to my enormous fetters, I could not extend myself in them, in the same manner I was afterward taught to do by habit. I dragged them, however, so together, as to enable me to sit down on the bare mattress. This, of all my nights of suffering, stands foremost. When they opened my dungeon next day, they found me in a truly pitiable situation, wondered at my appetite, brought me another loaf : I refused to accept it, believing I

never should have occasion for bread. They, however, left me one, gave me water, shrugged up their shoulders, wished me farewell, as, according to all appearance, they never expected to find me alive, and shut all the doors, without asking whether I wished or needed farther assistance.

Three days had passed before I could again eat a morsel of bread, and my mind, brave in health, now, in a sick body, became pusillanimous, so that I determined on death. The irons every where round my body, and their weight, were insupportable; nor could I imagine it was possible I should habituate myself to them, or endure them long enough to expect deliverance. Peace was a very distant prospect. The king had commanded that such a prison should be built, as should exclude all necessity of a sentinel, in order that I might not converse with, and seduce them from their duty; and, in the first days of despair, deliverance appeared impossible; and the fetters, the war, the pain I felt, the place, the length of time, each circumstance seemed equally impossible to support. A thousand reasons convinced me it was necessary to end my sufferings.

Full of these meditations, every minute's patience appeared absurdity, and resolution meanness of soul; yet I wished my mind should be satisfied that reason, and not rashness, had induced the act. I therefore determined, that I might examine the question coolly, to wait a week longer, and die on the 4th of July. In the mean time I revolved in my mind what possible means there were of escape, not fearing, naked and chained, to rush and expire on the bayonets of my enemies.

The next day I observed, as the four doors were opened, that they were only of wood, therefore questioned whether I might not even cut off the locks with the knife that I had so fortunately concealed; and should this and every other means fail, then would be

the time to die. I likewise determined to make an attempt even to free myself of my chains. I happily forced my right hand through the hand-cuff, though the blood trickled from my nails. My attempts on the left were long ineffectual; but, by rubbing with a brick, which I got from my seat, on the rivet, that had been negligently closed, I effected this also.

The chain was fastened to a rim round my body by a hook, one end of which was not inserted in the rim; therefore, by setting my foot against the wall, I had strength enough so far to bend this hook back, and open it, as to force out the link of the chain. The remaining difficulty was the chain that attached my foot to the wall: the links of this chain I took, doubled, twisted, and wrenched, till, at length, nature having bestowed on me great strength, I made a desperate effort, sprang forcibly up, and two links at once flew off.

Fortunate, indeed, did I think myself: I hastened to the door, groped in the dark to find the clinchings of the nails, by which the lock was fastened, and discovered no very large piece of wood need be cut. Immediately I went to work with my knife, and cut through the oak door, to find its thickness, which proved to be only one inch; therefore was it possible to open all the doors in four-and-twenty hours.

Again hope revived in my heart. To prevent detection, I hastened to put on my chains; but, O God! what difficulties had I to surmount! After much groping about, I, at length, found the link that had flown off; this I hid. It had been my good fortune, hitherto, to escape examination, as the possibility of ridding myself of such chains was in no wise suspected. The separated links I tied, together with my hair riband; but, when I again endeavoured to force my hand into the ring, it was so swelled, that every effort was fruitless. The whole night was employed upon the rivet, but all labour was in vain.

Noon was the hour of visitation, and necessity and danger again obliged me to attempt forcing my hand in, which, at length, after exoruciating torture, I effected. My visitors came, and every thing had the appearance of order. I found it, however, impossible to force out my right hand, while it continued swelled.

I therefore remained quiet till the day fixed, and, on the determined 4th of July, immediately as my visitors had closed the doors upon me, I disencumbered myself of my irons, took my knife, and began my Herculean labour on the door. The first of the double doors that opened inward was conquered in less than an hour; the other was a very different task. The lock was soon cut round, but it opened outward; there were, therefore, no other means left, but to cut the whole door away above the bar.

This incessant and incredible labour made possible, though it was the more difficult, as every thing was to be done by feeling, I being totally in the dark; the sweat dropped, or rather flowed, from my body; my fingers were clotted with my own blood, and my lacerated hands were one continued wound.

Day-light appeared: I clambered over the door that was half cut away, and got up to the window in the space or cell that was between the double doors, as above described. Here I saw my dungeon was in the ditch of the first rampart: before me I beheld the road from the rampart, the guard but fifty paces distant, and the high palisades that were in the ditch, and must be scaled before I could reach the rampart. Hope grew stronger; my efforts were redoubled. The first of the next double doors was attacked, which opened inward, and was soon conquered. The sun set before I had ended this, and the fourth was to be cut away as the second had been. My strength failed; both my hands were raw > I rested a while, began again, and

had made a cut of a foot long, when my knife snapt, and the broken blade dropt to the ground.

* * * * *

God of omnipotence! what was I at this moment! Was there, God of mercies! was there ever creature of thine more justified in despair?—The moon shone clear:—I cast a wild, distracted look up to heaven, seized the broken knife, gashed through the veins of my left arm and foot, sat myself tranquilly down, and saw the blood flow. Nature, overpowered, fainted, and I know not how long I remained slumbering in this state. Suddenly I heard my own name, awoke, and again heard the words "Baron Trenck?" My answer was, "Who calls?" And who indeed was it, but my honest grenadier, Gefhardt, my former faithful friend in the citadel. The good, the kind fellow, had got up on the rampart, that he might comfort me.

"How do you do?" said Gefhardt. "Weltering in my blood," answered I; "to-morrow you will find me dead." "Why should you die?" replied he; "it is much easier for you to escape here than from the citadel. Here is no sentinel, and I shall soon find means to supply you with tools: if you can only break out, leave the rest to me. As often as I am on guard I will seek opportunity to speak to you. In the whole Star Fort there are but two sentinels; the one at the entrance, and the other at the guard-house. Do not despair; God will succour you; trust to me." The good man's kindness and discourse revived my hopes: I saw the possibility of an escape. A secret joy diffused itself through my soul. I immediately tore my shirt, bound up my wounds, and waited the approach of day; and the sun soon after shone through the window to me with unaccustomed brightness.

Let the reader judge how far it was chance, how far the effect of divine Providence, that in this dreadful hour my heart again received hope. Who was it sent

the honest Gefhardt at such a moment to my prison? For had it not been for him, I had certainly, when I awoke from my slumbers, cut more effectually through my arteries.

Till noon I had time to consider what might farther be done; yet what could be done, what expected, but that I should now be much more cruelly treated, and even insupportably ironed than before; finding, as they must, the doors cut through, and my fetters shaken off.

After mature consideration, I therefore made the following resolution, which succeeded happily, and even beyond my hopes. Before I proceed, however, I will speak a few words concerning my then situation. It is impossible to describe how much I was exhausted. The prison swam with blood, and certainly but little was left in my body. With painful wounds, swelled and torn hands, I there stood shirtless; felt an inclination to sleep almost irresistible, and scarcely had strength to keep my legs; yet was I obliged to rouse myself, that I might execute my plan.

With the bar that separated my hands I loosened the bricks of my seat, which, being newly laid, was easily done, and heaped them up in the middle of my prison. The inner door was quite open, and with my chains I so harricadoed the upper half of the second, as to prevent any one climbing over it. When noon came, and the first of the doors was unlocked, all were astonished to find the second open. There I stood, a desperate man, besmeared with blood, the picture of horror, with a brick in one hand, and in the other my broken knife, crying, as they approached, "Keep off, Mr. Major, keep off! Tell the governor I will live no longer in chains, and that here I stand, if so he pleases, to be shot; for so only will I be conquered. Here no man shall enter; I will destroy all that approach. Here are my weapons; here will I die in despite of tyranny." The major was terrified, wanted resolu-

tion, and made his report to the governor. I, meantime, sat down on the bricks to wait what might happen: my secret intent, however, was not so desperate as it appeared. I sought only to obtain a favourable capitulation.

The governor, General Borck, presently came, attended by the town-major and some officers, and entered the outward cell, but sprung back the moment he beheld a figure like me, standing with a brick and uplifted arm. I repeated what I had told the major, and he immediately ordered six grenadiers to force the door. The front cell was scarcely six feet broad, so that no more than two at a time could attack my intrenchment, and, when they saw my threatening bricks ready to descend, they leaped, terrified, back. A short pause ensued, and the old town-major, with the chaplain, advanced towards the door to soothe me: the conversation continued some time: whose reasons were most satisfactory, and whose cause was the most just, I leave to the reader. The governor grew angry, and ordered a fresh attack. The first grenadier was knocked down, and the rest ran back to avoid my missiles.

The town-major again beat a parley.—“For God’s sake, my dear Trenck,” said he, “in what have I injured you, that you endeavour to effect my ruin? I must answer for your having, through my negligence, concealed a knife. Be persuaded, I entreat you; be appeased. You are not without hope, nor without friends.”—My answer was—“But will you not load me with heavier irons than before?”

He went out, spoke with the governor, and gave me his word and honour, that the affair should be no farther noticed, and that every thing should be exactly reinstated as formerly.

Here ended the capitulation, and my wretched citadel was taken. The condition I was in was viewed with pity; my wounds were examined, a surgeon was sent to dress them, another shirt was given me; and

the bricks, clotted with blood, removed. I, meantime, lay half dead on my mattress. My thirst was excessive; the surgeon ordered me some wine; two sentinels were stationed in the front cell, and I was thus left four days in peace, unironed. Broth, also, was given me daily; and how delicious this was to taste, how much it revived and strengthened me, is wholly impossible to describe. Two days I lay in a slumbering kind of trance, forced, by unquenchable thirst, to drink whenever I awoke. My feet and hands were swelled; the pains in my back and limbs were excessive.

On the fifth day, the doors were ready; the inner was entirely plated with iron, and I was fettered as before: perhaps they found further cruelty unnecessary. The principal chain, however, which fastened me to the wall, like that I had before broken, was thicker than the first. They deeply regretted that, without the king's express commands, they could not lighten my afflictions, wished me fortitude and patience, and barred up my doors.

It is necessary I should describe my dress. My hands being fixed and kept asunder by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on shirt or stockings in the usual mode; the shirt was, therefore, tied, and changed once a fortnight; the coarse ammunition stockings were buttoned on the sides; a blue garment, of soldier's cloth, was likewise tied round me, and I had a pair of slippers for my feet. The shirt was of the army linen, and, when I contemplated myself in this dress of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in such a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or justice, my conscience void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when I reflected on my former splendour in Berlin and Moscow, and compared it with this sad, this dreadful reverse of destiny, I was sunk in grief, or roused to indignation, that might have hurried the greatest hero, or philosopher, to madness or despair. I felt what can only be im-

aged by him who has suffered like me, after having, like me, flourished, if such can be found.

Pride, the justness of my cause, the unbounded confidence I had in my own resolution, and the labours of an inventive head and iron body,—these only could have preserved my life. These bodily labours, these continued inventions, and projected plans, to obtain my freedom, preserved my health. Who would suppose that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exercising himself? By swinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myself in a strong perspiration. After thus wearying myself, I slept soundly.

The failure of my escape, and the recovery of life from this state of despair, led me to moralize deeper than I had ever done before; and, in this depth of thought, I found unexpected consolation and fortitude, and a firm persuasion I should yet accomplish my deliverance.

Gefhardt, my honest grenadier, had infused fresh hope, and my mind now busily began to meditate new plans. A sentinel had been placed before my door, that I might be more narrowly watched, and the married men of the Prussian states were appointed to this duty, who, as I shall hereafter show, were more easy to persuade in aiding my flight, than foreign fugitives. The Pomeranian will listen, and is, by nature, kind; therefore may easily be moved, and induced to succour distress.

I began to be more accustomed to my irons, which I had before found so insupportable: I could comb out my long hair, and could tie it at last with one hand. My beard, which had so long remained unshaven, gave me a grim appearance, and I began to pluck it up by the roots. The pain, at first, was considerable, especially round the lips; but this, also, custom conquered, and I performed this operation, in the following years, once in six weeks or two months: as the hair

thus plucked up required that length of time before the nails could again get hold. Vermin did not molest me; the dampness of my den was inimical to them. My limbs never swelled, because of the exercise I gave myself, as above described. The greatest pain I found was in the continued dimness in which I lived.

I had read much; had lived in, and seen much of the world; vacuity of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with; the former transactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the persons I had known, I revolved so often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exercise so perfect to me, that I could compose speeches, fables, odes, satires, all which I repeated aloud; and had so stored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of these, my prison labours. Accustomed to this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been days of misery, appeared but as a moment.

About three weeks after my attempt to escape, the good Gefhardt first came to stand sentinel over me; and the sentinel they had so carefully set was, indeed, the only hope I could have of escape: for help must be had from without, or this was impossible.

The effort I had made had excited too much surprise and alarm for me to pass without strict examination, since, on the ninth day after I was confined, I had, in eighteen hours, so far broken through a prison, built purposely for myself, by a combination of so many projectors, and with such extreme precaution, which prison had universally been declared impetrable.

Gefhardt scarcely had taken his post, before we had free opportunity of conversing together; for, when I stood with one foot on my bedstead, I could reach the aperture through which light was admitted.

Gefhardt described the situation of my dungeon, and our first plan was to break through the foundation, which he had seen laid, and which he affirmed to be only two feet deep.

Money was the first thing necessary. Gefhardt was relieved during his guard, and returned, bringing with him a sheet of paper, rolled on a wire, which he passed through my grating; after which a piece of small wax candle, some burning tinder, a match and a pen. I now had light, pricked my finger, and wrote with my blood to my faithful friend, Captain Ruckhardt, at Vienna, described my situation in a few words, sent him an acquittance for three thousand florins on my revenues, and requested he would dispose of a thousand florins to defray the expenses of his journey to Gummern, only two miles from Magdeburg. Here he was positively to be on the 15th of August. About noon, on this same day, he was to walk with a letter in his hand; a man was there to meet him, smoking a roll of tobacco, to whom he must remit the two thousand florins, and return to Vienna.

I returned the written paper to Gefhardt by the same means it had been received; gave him my instructions, and he sent his wife with it to Gummern, by whom it was safely put in the post.

My hopes daily rose, and as often as Gefhardt mounted guard, so often did we continue our projects. The 15th of August came, but it was some days before Gefhardt was again on guard; and, oh! how did my heart palpitate, when he came and exclaimed, "All is right! we have succeeded." He returned in the evening, and we began to consider by what means he should convey the money to me. I could not, with my hands chained to an iron bar, reach to the aperture of the window that admitted air; beside that, it was too small. It was, therefore, agreed that Gefhardt should, on the next guard, perform the office of

cleaning my dungeon, and that he then should convey the money to me in the water-jug.

This luckily was done. How great was my astonishment, when, instead of one, I found two thousand florins! for I had permitted him to reserve half to himself, as a reward for his fidelity.

He, however, had kept but five pistolés, which he insisted was enough, though I afterwards prevailed on him to accept the whole thousand.

Having money to carry on my designs, I began to put my plan of burrowing under the foundation into execution. The first thing necessary was to free myself of my fetters. To accomplish this, Gefhardt supplied me with two small files; and, by the aid of these, this labour, though great, was effected.

The cap, or staple, of the foot-ring was made so wide, that I could draw it forward a quarter of an inch. I filed the iron, which passed through it, on the inside, and the more I filed this away, the further I could draw the cap down, till at last the whole inside iron, through which the chains passed, was quite cut through; by this means I could slip off the ring, while the cap, on the outside, continued whole; and it was impossible to discover any cut, as only the outside could be examined. My hands, by continued efforts, I so compressed, as to be able to draw them out of the handcuffs. I then filed the hinge, and made a screw-driver of one of the foot-long flooring nails, by which I could take out the screws at pleasure, so that at the time of examination no proofs could appear. The rim round my body was but a small impediment, except the chain which passed from my hand-bar, and this I removed, by filing an aperture in one of the links, which, at the necessary hour, I closed with bread, rubbed over with rusty iron, first drying it by the heat of my body; and would wager any sum, that, without striking the chain link by link with a hammer, no one, not in the secret, would have discovered this fracture.

The window was never strictly examined ; I therefore drew the two staples by which the iron bars were fixed to the wall, and which I daily replaced, carefully plastering them over. I procured wire from Gefhardt, and tried how well I could imitate the inner grating : finding I succeeded tolerably, I cut the real grating totally away, and substituted an artificial one of my own fabricating, by which I obtained a free communication with the outside, additional fresh air, together with all necessary implements, tinder and candles. That the light might not be seen, I hung the coverlet of my bed before the window, so that I could work fearless and undetected.

Every thing prepared, I went to work. The floor of my dungeon was not of stone, but oak planks, three inches thick ; three beds of which were laid crosswise, and were fastened to each other by nails half an inch in diameter, and a foot long. Having worked round the head of a nail, I made use of the hole at the end of the bar, which separated my hands, to draw it out, and this nail I sharpened upon my tombstone into an excellent chisel.

I now cut through the board more than an inch in width, that I might work downward, and, having drawn away a piece of board, which was inserted two inches under the wall, I cut this so as exactly to fit : the small crevice it occasioned I stopped up with bread, and strewed over with dust, so as to prevent all suspicious appearance. My labour, under this, was continued with less precaution, and I had soon worked through my nine inch planks. Under them, I came to a fine white sand, on which the Star Fort was built. My chips I carefully distributed beneath the boards. If I had not help from without, I could proceed no farther, for to dig were useless, unless I could rid myself of my rubbish. Gefhardt supplied me with some rolls of cloth, of which I made long narrow bags, stuffed them with earth, and passed them between the iron

bars to Gefhardt, who, as often as he was on guard, scattered, or conveyed away their contents.

Furnished with room to secrete them under the floor, I obtained more instruments, together with a pair of pistols, powder, ball, and a bayonet.

I now discovered that the foundation of my prison, instead of two, was sunk four feet deep. Time, labour, and patience, were all necessary to break out unheard and undiscovered; but few things are impossible, where resolution is not wanting.

The hole I made was obliged to be four feet deep, corresponding with the foundation, and wide enough to kneel and stoop in: the laying down on the floor to work, the continual stooping to throw out the earth, the narrow space in which all must be performed, these made the labour incredible; and, after this daily labour, all things were to be replaced, and my chains again resumed, which alone required some hours to effect. My greatest aid was in the wax candles, and light I had procured; but, as Gefhardt stood sentinel only once a fortnight, my work was much delayed: the sentinels were forbidden to speak to me, under pain of death, and I was too fearful of being betrayed to dare to seek new assistance.

Being without a stove, I suffered much this winter from cold, yet my heart was cheerful, as I saw the probability of freedom; and all were astonished to find me in such good spirits.

Gefhardt also brought me supplies of provisions, chiefly consisting of sausages and salt meats, ready dressed, which increased my strength; and, when I was not digging, I wrote satires and verses: thus time was employed, and I contented even in a prison.

Lulled into security, an accident happened, that will appear almost incredible, and by which every hope was nearly frustrated.

Gefhardt had been working with me, and was relieved in the morning. As I was replacing the win-

dow, which I was obliged to remove on these occasions, it fell out of my hands, and three glass panes were broken. Gefhardt was not to return till guard was again relieved; I had, therefore, no opportunity of speaking with him, or concerting any mode of repair. I remained nearly an hour, conjecturing and hesitating, for certainly, had the broken window been seen, as it was impossible I should reach it when fettered, I should immediately have been more rigidly examined, and the false grating must have been discovered.

I therefore came to a resolution, and spoke to the sentinel, who was amusing himself with whistling: "My good fellow, have pity, not upon me, but upon your comrades, who, should you refuse, will certainly be executed: I will throw you thirty pistoles through the window, if you will do me a small favour." He remained some moments silent, and, at last, answered in a low voice, "What! have you money, then?" I immediately counted thirty pistoles, and threw them through the window. He asked to know what he was to do; I told my difficulty, and gave him the size of the panes in paper. The man, fortunately, was bold and prudent. The door of the palisadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been shut that day. He prevailed on one of his comrades to stand sentinel for him during half an hour, while he, meantime, ran into the town, and procured the glass; on the receipt of which, I instantly threw him out ten more pistoles. Before the hour of noon and visitation came, every thing was once more reinstated, my glaziers performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preserved!

Gefhardt's alarm may easily be imagined; he some days after returned to his post, and was the more astonished, as he knew the sentinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man

ment to be depended on, by his officers, of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very possible to break out under the foundation ; but Gefhardt had been so terrified by the late accident, that he started a thousand difficulties in proportion as my end was more nearly accomplished ; and, at the moment when I wished to concert with him the means of flight, he persisted it was necessary to find additional help, to escape in safety, and not bring both him and myself to destruction. At length we came to the following determination, which, however, after eight months' incessant labour past, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Buckhardt, at Vienna ; sent him a new assignment for money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights, with two spare horags, on the glacis of Klosterbergen, at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight.

Within these six days Gefhardt would have found means either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me. Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a law-suit at Vienna, that, therefore, she begged he would take particular care of the letter, for which purpose she slipped ten rix dollars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master ; who, therefore, opened the letter, read the contents, and, instead of sending it to Vienna, or, at least, to the general post-master at Dresden, he preferred the traitorous act of taking it himself to the governor of Magdeburg, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

What were my terrors, what my despair, when I beheld the prince himself, about three o'clock in the afternoon, enter my prison, with his attendants, present

my letter, and ask, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern. My answer was, "I know not." Strict search was immediately made by smiths, carpenters, and masons, and, after half an hour's examination, they discovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I disencumbered myself of my chains: they only saw, that the middle grating in the aperture, where the light was admitted, had been removed. This was boarded up the next day, and only a small air-hole left, of about six inches diameter.

The prince began to threaten: I persisted I had never seen the sentinel who had rendered me this service, nor asked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual, the governor, in a milder tone, said, "You have ever complained, Baron Trenck, of not having hitherto been legally sentenced, or heard in your defence; I give you my word of honour, this you shall be, and also that you shall be released from your fetters, if you will only tell me who took your letter. To this I replied, with all the fortitude of innocence, "Every body knows, my lord, I have never deserved the treatment I have met with in my country. My heart is irreproachable. I seek to recover my liberty by every means in my power; but were I capable of betraying the man whose compassion had induced him to succour my distress; were I the coward that could purchase happiness at his expense, I then should indeed deserve to wear these chains, with which I am loaded. For myself, do with me what you please; yet remember I am not wholly destitute; I am still a captain in the Imperial service, and a descendant of the house of Trenck."

Prince Ferdinand stood for a moment unable to answer, then renewed his threats, and left my dungeon. I have since been told, that, when he was out of hearing, he said to those around him, "I pity his hard fate, and cannot but admire his strength of mind."

I must here remark, that, when we remember the usual circumspection of this great man, we are obliged to wonder at his imprudence, in holding a conversation of such kind with me, which lasted a considerable time, in the presence of the guard. The soldiers of the whole garrison had afterwards the utmost confidence, as they were convinced I would not meanly devote others to destruction, that I might benefit myself. This was the way to gain me esteem and intercourse among the men, especially as the duke had said he knew I must have money concealed, for that I had distributed some to the sentinels.

He had scarcely been gone an hour, before I heard a noise near my prison. I listened—What could it be? I heard talking, and learned a grenadier had hanged himself to the palisades of my prison!

The officer of the guard and the town-major again entered my dungeon, to fetch a lantern they had forgotten, and the officer, at going out, told me, in a whisper, "One of your associates has just hanged himself!"

It is impossible to impart my terror or sensations: I believed it could be only my kind, my honest Gefhardt. After many gloomy thoughts, and lamenting the unhappy end of so worthy a fellow, I began to recollect what the prince had promised me, if I would discover my accomplice. I knocked at the door, desiring to speak to the officer; he came to the window, and asked what I wanted? I requested he would inform the governor, that, if he would send me light, pen, ink, and paper, I would discover my whole secret.

These were accordingly sent; an hour's time was granted: the door was shut, and I left alone. I sat myself down, began to write on my night-table, and was about to insert the name of Gefhardt; but my blood thrilled, and shrunk back to my heart. I shuddered, rose, went to the aperture of the window, and called, "Is there no man, who, in compassion, will tell

me the name of him who has hanged himself, that I may deliver many others from destruction!" The window was not nailed up till the next day; I therefore wrapped five pistoles in a paper, threw them out, called to the sentinel, and said, "Friend, take these, and save thy comrades; or go, betray me, and bring down innocent blood upon thy head!"

The paper was taken up; a pause of silence ensued; I heard sighs, and, presently after, a low voice said, "His name is Schutz; he belonged to the company of Rippes." I had never heard the name before, or known the man; but I, however, immediately wrote SCHUTZ, instead of Gefhardt. Having finished the letter, I called the lieutenant, who took that and the light away, and again barred up the door of my dungeon. The duke, however, suspected there must be some collusion, and every thing remained in the same state; I obtained neither hearing nor court-martial. I learned, in the sequel, the following circumstances, which will display the truth of this apparently incredible story.

While I was imprisoned in the citadel, a sentinel came to the post under my window, cursed and blasphemed, exclaiming aloud, "Damn the Prussian service! if Trenck only knew my mind, he would not long continue in his infernal hole." I entered into discourse with him, and he told me, if I could give him money to purchase a boat, in which he might cross the Elbe, he would soon make my doors fly open, and set me free.

Money at that time I had none, but I gave him a diamond shirt-buckle, worth five hundred florins, which I had concealed. I never heard more from this man; he spoke to me no more; he often stood sentinel over me, which I knew by his Westphalian dialect, and I often addressed myself to him, but ineffectually; he would make no answer.

This Schutz must have sold my buckle, and let his riches be seen; for, when the duke left me, the lieutenant on guard said to him, "You must certainly be the rascal who carried Trenck's letter; you have, for some time past, spent much money, and we have seen you with louis-d'ors. How came you by them?" Schutz was terrified; his conscience accused him; he imagined I should betray him, he having deceived me. He, therefore, in the first agonies of despair, came to the palisadoes, and hanged himself before the door of my dungeon.

How wonderful is the hand of Providence! The wicked man fell a sacrifice to his crime, after having escaped a whole year; and the faithful, the benevolent-hearted Gefhardt was thereby saved.

The sentinels were now doubled, that any intercourse with them might be rendered more difficult. Gefhardt again stood guard, but he had scarcely opportunity, without danger, to speak a few words: he thanked me for having preserved him, wished me better fortune, and told me the garrison, in a few days, would take the field.

This was dreadful news: my whole plan was destroyed at a breath. I, however, soon recovered fresh hopes. The hole I had sunk was not discovered: I had five hundred florins, candles, and implements.

The seven years' war broke out about a week after, and the regiment took the field. Major Weyner came, for the last time, and committed me to the care of the new major of militia, Bruckhausen, who was one of the most surly and stupid of men.

All the majors and lieutenants of the guard, who had treated me with compassion and esteem, now departed, and I became an old prisoner in a new world.

I acquired greater confidence, however, by remembering, that both officers and men in the militia were much easier to gain over than the regulars.

Four lieutenants were appointed, with their men, to mount guard, at the Star Fort, in turn, and, before a year had passed, three of them were in my interest.

The regiments had scarcely taken the field, ere the new governor, General Borck, entered my prison, like what he was, an imperious, cruel tyrant. The king, in giving him the command, had informed him he must answer for my person with his head: he, therefore, had full power to treat me with whatever severity, he pleased.

Borck was a stupid man, of an unfeeling heart; the slave of despotic orders, and, as often as he thought it possible I might rid myself of my fetters, and escape, his heart palpitated with fear. In addition to this, he considered me as the vilest of men and traitors, seeing his king had condemned me to imprisonment so cruel, and his barbarity towards me was thus the effect of character, and meanness of soul. He entered my dungeon, not as an officer, to visit a brother officer in misery, but as an executioner to a felon. Smiths then made their appearance, and a monstrous iron collar, of a hand's breadth, was put round my neck, and connected with the chains of the feet by additional heavy links. My window was walled up, except a small air-hole. He even, at length, took away my bed, gave me no straw, and quitted me with a thousand revilings on the empress queen, her whole army, and myself. In words, however, I was little in his debt, and he was enraged, even to madness.

What my situation was, under this additional load of tyranny, and the command of a man so void of human pity, the reader must imagine. My greatest good fortune consisted in the ability I still had to disencumber myself of all the irons that were connected with the ankle rims, and the provision I had of light, paper, and implements; and though it was apparently impossible I should break out undiscovered by both sen-

tinels, yet had I the remaining hope of gaining some officer, by money, who, as in Glatz, should assist my escape.

Had the commands been literally obeyed, escape would have been wholly impossible; for, by this, all communication would have been cut totally off with the sentinels. To this effect, the four keys of the four doors were each to be kept by different persons; one with the governor, another with the town-major, the third with the major of the day, and the fourth with the lieutenant of the guard. I never could have found opportunity to have spoken to any of them singly.

These commands, at first, were rigidly observed, with this exception, that the governor made his appearance only every week. Magdeburg became so full of prisoners, that the town-major was obliged to deliver up his key to the major of the day, and the governor's visitation wholly subsided, being an English mile and a half distant from the Star Fort.

General Walrabe, who had been a prisoner ever since the year 1746, was also at the Star Fort; but he had apartments, and three thousand rix dollars a year. The major of the day and the officers of the guard dined with him daily, and generally staid till evening. Either from compassion, or a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, these gentlemen intrusted the keys to the lieutenant on guard, by which means I could speak with each of them alone, when they made their visit.

Borck had selected three majors, and four lieutenants, only, for this service, as those he best could trust. My situation was truly deplorable. The enormous iron round my neck pained me, and prevented motion, and I durst not attempt to disengage myself from the pendent chains, till I had, for some months carefully observed the mode of their examination, and which parts they supposed were perfectly secure. The cruelty of depriving me of my bed was still great-

er; I was obliged to sit upon the bare ground, and lean with my head against the damp wall. The chains that descended from the neck-collar were obliged to be supported first with one hand, and then with the other, for, if thrown behind, they would have strangled me, and, if hanging forward, occasioned most excessive headaches. The bar between my hands held one down, while, leaning on my elbow, I supported with the other my chains, and this so benumbed the muscles, and prevented circulation, that I could perceive my arms sensibly waste away. The little sleep I could have, in such a situation, may easily be supposed; and, at length, body and mind sunk under this accumulation of miserable suffering, and I fell ill of a burning fever.

The tyrant Bork was inexorable: he wished to expedite my death, and rid himself of his troubles and terrors. Here did I experience what was the lamentable condition of a sick prisoner; without bed, refreshment, or aid from human being.

I continued ill about two months, and was so reduced at last, that I had scarcely strength to lift the water-jug to my mouth. What must the sufferings of that man be, who sits two months on the bare ground, in a dungeon so damp, so dark, so horrible, without bed or straw, his limbs loaded as mine were, with no refreshment but dry ammunition bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without physic, without consoling friends, and who, under all these afflictions, must trust for his recovery to the efforts of nature alone!

Sickness itself is sufficient to humble the mightiest mind; what then is sickness, with such addition of torment? The burning fever, the violent headaches, my neck swelled and inflamed with the irons, enraged me almost to madness. The fever and the fetters together flayed my body so that it appeared like one continued wound. Enough! Enough! The malefactor, extended, living, on the wheel, to whom the cruel

executioner refuses the last stroke, the blow of death, must yet in some short period expire ; he suffers nothing I did not then suffer, and these my excruciating pangs continued two dreadful months—Yet, can it be supposed ? there came a day—a day of horror—when these mortal pangs were beyond all imagination increased ! I sat scorched with this intolerable fever, in which nature and death were contending, and, when attempting to quench my burning entrails with cold water, the jug dropped from my feeble hands, and broke ! I had four-and-twenty hours to remain without water. So intolerable, so devouring was my thirst, I could have drank human blood ! ay, in my madness, had it been the blood of my father !

* * * * *

Willingly would I have seized my pistols, but strength had forsaken me ; I could not open the place I was obliged to render so secure.

My visitors, next day, supposed me gone at last. I lay motionless, with my tongue out of my mouth. They poured water down my throat, and found life.

Oh God ! oh God ! How pure, how delicious, how exquisite was this water ! My insatiable thirst soon emptied the jug ; they filled it anew, bade me farewell, hoped death would soon relieve my mortal sufferings, and departed.

The lamentable state in which I lay at length became so much the subject of general conversation, that all the ladies of the town united with the officers, and prevailed on the tyrant Borck to restore me my bed.

One of the majors of the day intrusted his key to Lieutenant Sonntag, who came alone, spoke in confidence, and related his own situation, complained of his debts, his poverty, his necessities : and I made him a present of twenty-five louis-d'ors, for which he was so grateful that our friendship became unshaken.

The three lieutenants all commiserated me, and would sit hours with me, when a certain major had the inspection; and he himself, after a time, would even pass half the day with me. He, too, was poor, and I gave him a draught for three thousand florins: hence new projects took birth.

Money became necessary; I had dispersed all I had possessed, a hundred florins excepted, among the officers. The eldest son of Captain K——, who officiated as major, had been cashiered; his father complained to me of his distress, and I sent him to my sister, not far from Berlin, from whom he received a hundred ducats. He returned, and related her joy at hearing from me. He found her exceedingly ill, and she informed me, in a few lines, that my misfortunes, and the treachery of Weingarten, had entailed poverty upon her, and an illness which had endured more than two years. She wished me a happy deliverance from my chains, and, in the expectation of death, committed her children to my protection. She, however, grew better, and married a second time, Colonel Pape; but died in the year 1758.

K——n returned, happy, with the money; all things were concerted with the father. I wrote to the Countess Bestuchef, also to the grand duke, afterwards Peter III, recommended the young soldier, and entreated every possible succour for myself.

K——n departed through Hamburg for Petersburg, where, in consequence of my recommendation, he became a captain, and, in a short time, major. He took his measures so well, that I, by the intervention of his father, and a Hamburg merchant, received two thousand rubles from the countess, while the service he rendered me made his own fortune in Russia.

To old K——n, who was as poor as he was honest, I gave three hundred ducats; and he, till death, continued my grateful friend. I distributed nearly as much to the other officers; and matters proceeded so

far that Lieutenant Glotin gave back the keys to the major, without locking my prison, himself passing half the night with me. Money was given to the guard to drink, and thus every thing succeeded to my wish, and the tyrant Borck was deceived. I had a supply of light; had books, newspapers, and my days passed swiftly away. I read, I wrote, I busied myself so thoroughly, that I almost forgot I was a prisoner. When, indeed, the surly, dull blockhead, Major Bruckhausen, had the inspection, every thing must be carefully reinstated. Major Z——, the second of the three, was wholly mine. He was particularly attached to me, for I had promised to marry his daughter; and, should I die in prison, bequeath him a legacy of ten thousand florins.

Lieutenant Sonntag got false hand-cuffs made for me, that were so wide I could easily draw my hands out; the lieutenants, only, examined my irons; the new hand-cuffs were made perfectly similar to the old, and Bruckhausen had too much stupidity to remark any difference.

The remainder of my chains I could disencumber myself of at pleasure. When I exercised myself, I held them in my hands, that the sentinels might be deceived by their clanking. The neck-iron was the only one I durst not remove; it was, likewise, too strongly riveted. I filed through the upper part of the pendent chain, however, by which means I could take it off; and this I concealed, with bread, in the manner before mentioned.

So could I disencumber myself of most of my fetters, and sleep at ease. I again obtained sausages and cold meat, and thus my situation, bad as it still was, became less miserable. Liberty still, however, was most desirable; but, alas! not one of the three lieutenants had the courage of a Schell: Saxony, too, was in the hands of the Prussians, and flight, therefore, more dangerous. Persuasion was in vain with men

determined to risk nothing, but, if they went, to go in safety. Will, indeed, was not wanting in Glotin and Sonntag: but the first was a patron, and the latter a man of scruples, who likewise thought this might be the ruin of his brother in Berlin.

The sentinels were doubled; therefore my escape through my hole, which had been two years dug, could not, unperceived by them, be effected; still less could I, in face of the guard, clamber the twelve feet palisades. The following labour, therefore, though Herculean, was undertaken.

Lieutenant Sonntag, measuring the interval between the hole I had dug and the entrance of the gallery in the principal rampart, found it to be thirty-seven feet. Into this, it was possible, I might, by mining, penetrate. The difficulty of the enterprise was lessened by the nature of the ground,—a fine white sand. Could I reach the gallery, my freedom was certain. I had been informed how many steps to the right or left must be taken to find the door that led to the second rampart; and on the day when I should be ready for flight, the officer was secretly to leave this door open. I had light and mining tools, and I was further to rely on money and my own discretion.

I began, and continued this labour about six months. I have already noticed the difficulty of scraping out the earth with my hands. The noise of instruments would have been heard by the sentinels. I had scarcely mined beyond my dungeon wall, before I discovered the foundation of the rampart was not more than a foot deep,—a capital error, certainly, in so important a fortress. My labour became the lighter, as I could remove the foundation stones of my dungeon, and was not obliged to mine so deep.

My work, at first, proceeded so rapidly, that, while I had room to throw back my sand, I was able, in one night, to gain three feet; but ere I had proceeded ten feet, I discovered all my difficulties. Before I could

continue my work, I was obliged to make room for myself, by emptying the sand out of my hole, upon the floor of the prison; and this itself was an employment of some hours. The sand was obliged to be thrown out by the hand, and, after it thus lay heaped in my prison, must be again returned into the hole; and I have calculated that, after I had proceeded twenty feet, I was obliged to creep under ground, in my hole, from fifteen hundred to two thousand fathoms, within twenty-four hours, in the removal and replacing of the sand. This labour ended, care was to be taken, that in none of the crevices of the floor there might be any appearance of this fine white sand. The flooring was next to be exactly replaced, and my chains to be resumed. So severe was the fatigue of the day in this mode, that I was always obliged to rest the three following.

To reduce my labour as much as possible, I was constrained to make the passage so small, that my body only had space to pass, and I had not room to draw my arm back to my head. The work too must all be done naked, otherwise the dirtiness of my shirt must have been remarked: the sand was wet, water being found at the depth of four feet, where the stratum of gravel began. At length the expedient of sand bags occurred to me, by which it might be removed out, and more expeditiously. I obtained linen from the officers, but not in sufficient quantities: suspicions would have been excited at observing so much linen brought into the prison. At last I took my sheets, and the ticking that enclosed my straw, and cut them up for sand bags, taking care to lie down on my bed, as if ill, when Bruckhausen paid his visits.

The labour towards the conclusion became so intolerable as to excite despondency. I frequently sat contemplating the heaps of sand, during a momentary respite from work, and, thinking it impossible I could have strength or time again to replace all things as they

were, resolved patiently to wait the consequence, and leave every thing in its present disorder. I can assure the reader that, to effect concealment, I have scarcely had time in twenty-four hours to sit down and eat a morsel of bread. Recollecting however the prodigious efforts, and all the progress I had made, hope would again revive, and exhausted strength return; again would I begin my labours, that I might preserve my secret and my expectations; yet has it frequently happened that my visitors have entered a few minutes after I had reinstated every thing in its place.

When my work was within six or seven feet of being accomplished, a new misfortune happened, that at once frustrated all further attempts. I worked, as I have said, under the foundation of the rampart, near where the sentinels stood. I could disencumber myself of my fetters, except my neck-collar and its pendent chain. This, as I worked, though it had been fastened, got loose, and the clanking was heard by the sentinels about fifteen feet from my dungeon. The officer was called; they laid their ears to the ground, and heard me as I went backward and forward to bring my earth bags. This was reported the next day, and the major, who was my best friend, with the town-major, and a smith and mason, entered my prison. I was terrified. The lieutenant, by a sign gave me to understand I was discovered.

An examination was begun, but the officers would not see, and the smith and mason found every thing, as they thought, safe. Had they examined my bed, they would have seen the ticking and sheets were gone.

The town-major was a dull man, was persuaded the thing was impossible, and said to the sentinel, "Block-head! you have heard some mole under ground, and not Trenck. How indeed could it be, that he should work under ground at such a distance from his dungeon?" Here the scrutiny ended.

There was now no time for delay. Had they altered their hour of coming, they must have found me at work; but this, during ten years, never happened; for the governor and town-major were stupid men, and the others, wishing me all success, were wilfully blind. In a few days I could have broken out, but, when prepared, wished to wait for the visitation day of the man who had treated me so tyrannically, Bruckhausen, that his own negligence might be evident; but this man, though he wanted understanding, did not want good fortune. He was ill for some time, and his duty devolved on K——.

He recovered, and, the visitation being over, the doors were no sooner barred than I began my supposed last labour. I had only three feet further to proceed, and it was no longer necessary I should bring out the sand, I having room enough to throw it behind me. What my anxiety was, what my exertions were, may well be imagined. My evil genius, however, had decreed, that the same sentinel who had heard me before should be that day on guard. He was piqued by vanity to prove he was not the blockhead he had been called; he therefore again laid his ear to the ground, and again heard me burrowing. He called his comrades first, next the major; he came and heard me likewise; accordingly they went without the palisades, and heard me working near the door, at which place I was to break into the gallery. This door they immediately opened, entered the gallery with lanterns, and waited to catch the hunted fox when unearthed.

Through the first small breach I made, I perceived a light, and saw the heads of those who were expecting me. This was indeed a thunder-stroke!—I crept back, made my way through the sand I had cast behind me, and awaited my fate with shuddering! I had still the presence of mind to conceal my pistols, candles, paper, and some money under the floor, which I

could remove. The money was disposed of in various holes, well concealed also between the pannels of the doors; and under different cracks in the floor I hid my small files and knives.

Scarcely were these disposed of before the doors resounded; the floor was covered with sand bags; my hand-cuffs, however, and the separating bar, I had hastily resumed, that they might suppose I had worked with them on; which they were silly enough to credit, highly to my future advantage.

No man was more busy on this occasion than the brutal and stupid Bruckhausen, who put many interrogatories, to which I made no reply, except assuring him that I should have completed my work some days sooner, had it not been his good fortune to fall sick, and that this only had been the cause of my failure.

The man was absolutely terrified with apprehension. he began to fear me, grew more polite, and even supposed nothing was impossible to me.

It was too late to remove the sand; therefore the lieutenant and guard continued with me, so that this night, at least, I did not want company.

When the morning came, the hole was first filled and walled up, and the planking was renewed. The tyrant Borck was ill, and could not come; otherwise my treatment would have been more lamentable. The smiths had ended before the evening, and the irons were heavier than ever. The foot chains, instead of being fastened as before, were screwed and riveted; all things else remained as formerly. They were employed in the flooring till the next day, so that I could not sleep, and at last I sunk down with weariness.

The greatest of my misfortunes was, they again deprived me of my bed, because I had cut it up for sand bags. Before the doors were barred, Bruckhausen, and another major, examined my body very narrowly. They often asked me where I had concealed all my implements. My answer was, "Gentlemen, Beel-

zebub is my best and most intimate friend ; he brings me every thing I want ; supplies me with light ; we play whole nights at piquet ; and guard me as you please, he will finally deliver me out of your power."

Some were astonished, others laughed. At length, as they were barring the last door, I called, "Come back, gentlemen ! you have forgotten something of great importance." In the interim I had taken up one of my hidden files. When they returned, "Look ye, gentlemen," said I, "here is a proof of the friendship Beelzebub has for me ; he has brought me this in a twinkling." Again they examined, and again they shut the doors. While they were so doing, I took out a knife, and ten louis-d'ors, called, and they returned, grumbling curses : I then showed them the knife and the louis-d'ors. Their consternation was excessive ; and I diverted my misfortunes by jesting at such blundering, short-sighted keepers.

It was rumoured through Magdeburg, especially among the simple and the vulgar, that I was a magician, to whom the devil brought all I asked.

One Major Holtzkammer, a very selfish man, profited by this report. A foolish citizen offered him fifty dollars, if he might only be permitted to see me through the doors, being very desirous to have a peep at a wizard. Holtzkammer told me, and we jointly determined to sport with his credulity. The major gave me a mask with a monstrous nose, which I put on when the doors were opening, and threw myself into a heroic attitude. The affrighted burgher drew back, but Holtzkammer stopped him, and said, "Have patience but for some quarter of an hour, and you shall see he will assume quite a different countenance." The burgher waited, my mask was thrown by, and my face appeared whitened with chalk, and made ghastly. The burgher again shrank back ; Holtzkammer kept him in conversation, and I assumed a third farcical form. I tied my hair under my nose, and a pewter

dish to my breast, and, when the door a third time opened, I thundered, "Begone, rascals, or I'll set your necks awry!" They both ran; and the silly burgher, eased of his fifty dollars, scampered first.

The major in vain laid his injunctions on the burgher never to reveal what he had beheld, it being a breach of duty in him to admit any person whatever to a sight of me. In a few days the necromancer, Trenck, was the theme of every ale-house in Magdeburg, and the person was named who had seen me change my form thrice in the space of one hour. Many false and ridiculous circumstances were added, and at last the story reached the governor's ears. The citizen was cited, and offered to take his oath to the truth of what himself and the major had seen. Holtzkammer, accordingly, suffered a severe reprimand, and was for some days put under arrest. We frequently laughed, however, at this adventure, which had rendered me so much the subject of conversation. Miraculous reports were the more easily credited, because no one could comprehend how, in despite of the load of irons I carried, and all the vigilance of the guards, I should be continually able to make new attempts, while those appointed to examine my dungeon seemed, as it were, blinded and bewildered. A proof, this, how easy it is to deceive the credulous, and whence have originated witchcrafts, prophecies, and miracles!

My last undertaking had employed me more than twelve months, and so weakened me, that I appeared little better than a skeleton. Notwithstanding the greatness of my spirit, I should have sunk into despondency at seeing an end, like this, to all my labours, had I not still cherished a secret hope of escaping, founded on the friends I had gained among the officers.

I soon felt the effects of the loss of my body, and was a second time attacked by a violent fever, which would this time certainly have consumed me, had not the officers, unknown to the governor, treated me with

all possible compassion. Bruckhausen, alone, continued my enemy, and the slave of his orders: on his day of examination, rules and commands in all their rigour were observed; nor durst I free myself from my irons, till I had for some weeks remarked those parts on which he invariably fixed his attention. I then cut through the link, and closed up the vacancy with bread. My hands I could always draw out, especially after illness had consumed the flesh off my bones. Half a year had elapsed before I had recovered sufficient strength to undertake, anew, labours like the past.

Necessity at last taught me the means of driving Bruckhausen from my dungeon, and of inducing him to commit his office to another. I learnt his olfactory nerves were somewhat delicate; and, whenever I heard the doors unbar, I took care to make a stir in my night-table. This made him give back, and at length he would come no farther than the door.

One day he came, bloated with pride, just after a courier had brought the news of victory, and spoke of the Austrians, and the august person of the empress queen, with so much virulence, that, at last, enraged almost to madness, I snatched the sword of an officer from its sheath, and should certainly have ended him, had he not made a hasty retreat. From that day forward he durst no more come without guards to examine the dungeon. Two men always preceded him, with their bayonets fixed, and their pieces presented, behind whom he stood at the door. This was another fortunate incident, as I dreaded only his examination.

The following anecdote will afford a specimen of this man's understanding. While digging in the earth, I found a cannon ball, and laid it in the middle of my prison. When he came to examine, "What, in the name of God, is that?" said he. "It is a part of the ammunition," answered I, "that my familiar brings

me. The cannon will be here anon, and you will then see fine sport!" He was astonished, told this to others, nor could conceive such a ball might by any natural means enter the prison.

I wrote a satire on him when the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was governor of Magdeburg, and I had permission to write. The landgrave gave it to him, to read himself; and so gross was his conception, that, though his own phraseology was introduced, part of his history, and character painted, yet did he not perceive the jest, but laughed heartily with the hearers. The landgrave was highly diverted, and, after I obtained my freedom, restored me the manuscript, written in my own blood.

About the time that my first attempt at escaping failed, General Krusemarck came to my prison, whom I had formerly lived with in habits of intimacy, when cornet of the body-guard. Without testifying friendship, esteem, or compassion, he asked, among other things, in an authoritative tone, how I could employ my time to prevent tediousness. I answered in as haughty a mood as he interrogated; for never could misfortune bend my mind. I told him, "I always could find sources of entertainment in my own thoughts, and that, as for my dreams, I imagined they would at least be as peaceful and pleasant as those of my oppressors." "Had you, in time," replied he, "curbed this fervour of yours, had you asked pardon of the king, perhaps you would have been in very different circumstances; but he who has committed an offence in which he obstinately persists, endeavouring only to obtain freedom by seducing men from their duty, deserves no better fate."

Justly was my anger roused: "Sir," answered I, "you are a general of the Prussian king; I am an Austrian captain. My royal mistress will protect, perhaps deliver me, or at least revenge my death. I have a conscience void of reproach. You yourself well

know I have not deserved these chains. I place my hope in time, and the justness of my cause, calumniated and condemned as I have been, without legal sentence or hearing. In such a situation, the philosopher will always be able to brave and despise the tyrant."

He departed with threats, and his last words were, "The bird shall soon be taught to sing another tune." The effects of this courteous visit were soon felt. An order came that I should be prevented sleeping, and that the sentinels should call and wake me every quarter of an hour, which dreadful order was immediately executed.

With whom these orders originated, unexampled in the history even of tyrants, I shall not venture to say. The major, who was my friend, advised me to persist in not answering. I followed his advice, and it produced this good effect, that we mutually forced each other to a capitulation: they restored me my bed, and I was obliged to reply.

Immediately after this regulation, the sub-governor Borck, my bitter enemy, became insane, was dispossessed of his post, and Lieutenant-Colonel Reichmann, the benevolent friend of humanity, was made sub-governor.

About the same time the court fled from Berlin, and the queen, the prince of Prussia, the princess Amelia, and the margrave Henry, chose Magdeburg for their residence. Bruckhausen grew more polite, probably perceiving I was not wholly deserted, and that it was yet possible I might obtain my freedom. The cruel are usually cowards, and there is reason to suppose Bruckhausen was actuated by his fears to treat me with respect.

The worthy new governor had not indeed the power to lighten my chains, or alter the general regulations: what he could he did. If he did not command, he connived at the doors being occasionally at first, and at length daily, kept open some hours to admit

day-light and fresh air. After a time they were open the whole day, and only closed by the officers, when they returned from their visit to Walrabe.

Having light, I began to carve, with a nail, on the pewter cup in which I drank, satirical verses, and various figures, and attained so much perfection, that my cups at last were considered as master-pieces, both of engraving and invention, and were sold dear as rare curiosities. My first attempts were rude, as may well be imagined. My cup was carried to town, and shown to visitors by the governor, who sent me another. I improved, and each of the inspecting officers wished to possess one. I grew more expert, and spent a whole year in this employment, which thus passed quickly away. The perfection I had now acquired obtained me the permission of candle-light, and this continued till I was restored to freedom.

The king gave orders that these cups should all be inspected by government, because I wished, by my verses and devices, to inform the world of my fate. But this command was not obeyed: the officers made merchandise of their cups, and sold them at last for twelve ducats each. Their value increased so much when I was released from prison, that they are now to be found in various museums throughout Europe. Twelve years ago the late Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel presented one of them to my wife; and another came in a very unaccountable manner, from the queen dowager, to Paris. I have given prints of both these, with the verses they contained, in my works; whence it may be seen how artificially they were engraved. A third fell into the hands of prince Augustus Lobkowitz, then a prisoner of war at Magdeburg, who, on his return to Vienna, presented it to the emperor, who placed it in his museum. Among other devices on this cup, was a landscape representing a vineyard and husbandmen, and under it the following words: *By my labour my vineyard flourished, and I hoped to*

have gathered the fruit; but Ahab came. Alas! for Naboth.

The allusion was so pointed, both to the wrongs done me in Vienna, and my sufferings in Prussia, that it made a very strong impression on the empress-queen, who immediately commanded her minister to make every possible exertion for my deliverance. She would probably at last have even restored me to my estates, had not the possessors of them been so powerful, or had she herself lived one year longer. To these my engraved cups was I indebted for being once more remembered at Vienna. On the same cup also was another engraving of a bird in a cage, held by a Turk, with the following inscription: *The bird sings even in the storm: open his cage, break his fetters, ye friends of virtue, and his songs shall be the delight of your abodes!*

There is another remarkable circumstance attending these cups. All were forbidden under pain of death to hold conversation with me, or to supply me with pen and ink; yet, by this open permission of writing what I pleased on pewter, was I enabled to inform the world of all I wished, and to prove a man of merit was oppressed. The difficulties of this engraving will be conceived, when it is remembered that I worked by candle-light on shining pewter, attained the art of giving light and shade, and by practice could divide a cup into two-and-thirty compartments, as regularly with a stroke of the hand, as with a pair of compasses. The writing was so minute that it could be only read with glasses. I could use but one hand, both being separated by the bar, and therefore held the cup between my knees. My sole instrument was a sharpened nail, yet did I write two lines on the rim only.

My labour became so excessive, that I was in danger of ~~distraction~~ or blindness. Every body wished for cups, and I wished to oblige every body, so that I worked eighteen hours a day. The reflection of the

light from the powder was injurious to my eyes, and the labour of invention, for apposite subjects and verses, was most fatiguing. I had learnt only architectural drawing.

Enough of these cups, which procured me so much honour, so many advantages, and helped to shorten so many mournful hours. My greatest encumbrance was, the huge iron collar, with its enormous appendages, which, when suffered to press the arteries in the back of my neck, occasioned intolerable headaches. I sat too much, and a third time fell sick. A Brunswick sausage, secretly given me by a friend, occasioned an indigestion, which endangered my life; a putrid fever followed, and my body was reduced to a skeleton. Medicines, however, were conveyed to me by the officers, and, now and then, warm food.

After my recovery I again thought it necessary to endeavour to regain my liberty. I had but forty louis-d'ors remaining, and these I could not get till I had first broken up the flooring.

Lieutenant Sonntag was consumptive, and obtained his discharge. I supplied him with money to defray the expenses of his journey, and with an order that four hundred florins should be annually paid him, from my effects, till his death, or my release. I commissioned him to seek an audience from the empress, endeavour to excite her compassion in my behalf, and to remit me four thousand florins, for which I gave a proper acquittance, by the way of Hamburgh. The money-draught was addressed to my administrators, Counselors Kempf and Huttner.

But no one, alas! in Vienna wished my return: they had already begun to share my property, of which they never rendered me an account. Poor Sonntag was arrested as a spy, imprisoned, ill treated for some weeks, and at last, when naked and destitute, received a hundred florins, and was escorted beyond the Austrian confines. The worthy man felt a shameful sacrifice to

his honesty, could never obtain an audience of the empress, and returned poor and miserable on foot to Berlin, where he was twelve months secretly maintained by his brother, with whom he died. He wrote an account of all this to the good Knoblauch, my Hamburg agent, and I from my small store sent him a hundred ducats.

A friend, by the aid of one of the lieutenants, secretly visited, and supplied me with six hundred ducats. This friend, in the year 1763, paid four thousand florins to the Imperial envoy, Baron Riedt, at Berlin, for the furthering of my freedom.

About this time the French army advanced to within five miles of Magdeburg. This important fortress was, at that time, the key of the whole Prussian power. It required a garrison of sixteen thousand men, and contained not more than fifteen hundred. The French might have marched in unopposed, and at once have put an end to the war. The officers brought me all the news, and my hopes rose, as they approached. What was my astonishment when the major informed me, three wagons had entered the town in the night, had been sent back loaded with money, and that the French were retreating! Not only were my hopes this way frustrated, but in Russia, likewise, where the Countess of Bestuchef and the chancellor were fallen into disgrace.

I now imagined another, and indeed a fearful and dangerous project. The garrison of Magdeburg, at this moment, consisted but of nine hundred militia, who were discontented men. Two majors and two lieutenants were in my interest. The guard of the Star Fort amounted to but a hundred and fifteen men. Fronting the gate of this fort was the town-gate, guarded only by twelve men and an inferior officer: beside these lay the casemates, in which were seven thousand Croat prisoners. Baron K——, a captain, and a prisoner of war, also, was in our interest, and

would hold his comrades ready, at a certain place and time, to support my undertaking. Another friend was, under some pretence, to hold his company ready, with their muskets loaded, and the plan was such, that I should have had four hundred men in arms, to carry it into execution.

The officer was to have placed the two men we most suspected, and feared, as sentinels over me; he was to command them to take away my bed, and when encumbered I was to spring out, and shut them in the prison. Clothing and arms were to have been procured, and brought me into my prison; the town gate was to have been surprised, I was to have run to the casemate, and called to the Croats, "Trenck! to arms!" My friends, at the same instant, were to break forth, and the plan was so well concerted, that it could not have failed. Magdeburg, the magazine of the army, the royal treasury, arsenal, all would have been mine; and sixteen thousand men, who were then prisoners of war, would have enabled me to keep possession.

The most essential secret, by which all this was to have been effected, I dare not reveal; suffice it to say, every thing was provided for, every thing secure; I shall only add, that the garrison, in the harvest months, was exceedingly weakened, because the farmers paid the captains a florin per man each day, and the men for their labour likewise, to obtain hands. The sub-governor connived at the practice.

One Lieutenant G—— procured a furlough to visit his friends, but, supplied by me with money, he went to Vienna. I furnished him with a letter addressed to Counsellors Kempf and Huttner, including a draught for two thousand ducats; wherein I said, that, by these means, I should not only soon be at liberty, but in possession of the fortress of Magdeburg; and the bearer was intrusted with the rest.

The lieutenant came safe to Vienna, underwent a thousand interrogatories, and his name was repeatedly asked. This, fortunately, he concealed. They advised him not to be concerned in so dangerous an undertaking; told him I had not so much money due to me, and gave him, instead of two thousand ducats, one thousand florins. With these he left Vienna, but with very prudent suspicions, which prevented him ever more returning to Magdeburg. A month had scarcely passed, before the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, then chief governor, entered my prison, showed me my letter, and demanded to know who had carried the letter, and who were to free me, and betray Magdeburg. Whether the letter was sent immediately to the king, or the governor, I know not; it is sufficient that I was once more betrayed at Vienna. The truth was, the administrators of my effects had acted as if I were deceased, and those not to refund two thousand ducats. They wished not I should obtain my freedom, in a manner that would have obliged the government to reward me, and restore the effects they had embezzled, and the estates they had seized. What happened afterward in Vienna will incontestably prove this surmise to be well founded.

My consternation, on the appearance of the landgrave, with my letter in his hand, may well be supposed: I had the presence of mind, however, to deny my hand-writing, and affect astonishment at so crafty a trick. The landgrave endeavoured to convict me, told me what Lieutenant Kemnitz had repeated at Vienna, concerning my possessing myself of Magdeburg, and thereby showed me how fully I had been betrayed. But, as no such person existed as Lieutenant Kemnitz, and as my friend had fortunately concealed his name, the mystery remained impenetrable, especially as no one could conceive how a prisoner, in my situation, could seduce, or subdue, the whole garrison.

The worthy prince left my prison, apparently satisfied with my defence : his heart felt not satisfaction in the misfortunes of others.

The next day, a formal examination was taken, at which the sub-governor, Reichmann, presided. I was accused as a traitor to my country ; but I obstinately denied my hand-writing. Proofs, or witnesses, there were none ; and, in answer to the principal charge, I said, " I was no criminal, but a man calumniated, illegally imprisoned, and loaded with irons ; that the king, in the year 1746, had cashiered me, and confiscated my paternal inheritance ; that, therefore, the laws of nature enforced me to seek honour and bread in a foreign service ; and that, finding these in Austria, I was become an officer and a faithful subject of the empress-queen ; that I had been, a second time, unoffendingly imprisoned ; that here I was treated as the worst of malefactors, and that my only resource was, to seek my liberty by such means as I could ; were I, therefore, in this attempt, to destroy the very town of Magdeburg, and occasion the loss of a thousand lives, I should still be guiltless. Had I been heard and legally sentenced, previous to my imprisonment at Glatz, I should have been, and continued, a criminal ; but, not having been guilty of any small, much less of any great crime, equal to my punishment, if such crime could be, I was, therefore, not accountable for consequences ; I owed neither fidelity nor duty to the king of Prussia ; for, by the word of his power, he had deprived me of bread, honour, country, and freedom.

Here the examination ended, without further discovery ; the officers, however, falling under suspicion, were all removed, and thus I lost my best friends ; yet it was not long before I had gained two others, which was no difficult matter, as I knew the national character, and that none but poor men were made militia

officers. Thus was the governor's precaution fruitless, and every body secretly wished I might obtain my freedom.

I shall never forget the noble manner in which I was treated, on this occasion, by the landgrave. When I, not long afterward, fell ill, he sent me his own physician, and meat from his table; nor would he suffer me, during two months, to be awakened by the sentinels. He, likewise, removed the dreadful collar from my neck; for which he was severely reprimanded by the king, as he himself has since assured me.

When I had once more gained the officers, I made a new attempt at mining my way out. Not wanting for implements, my chains and the flooring were soon cut through, and all was so carefully replaced, I was under no fear of examination. I here found my concealed money, pistols, and other necessities, but, till I had rid myself of some hundred weight of sand, it was impossible to proceed. For this purpose, I made two different openings in the floor: out of the real hole I threw a great quantity of sand into my prison; after which I closed it with all possible care. I then worked at the second, with so much noise, that I was certain they must hear me without. About midnight the doors began to thunder, and in they came, detecting me, as I intended they should. None of them could conceive why I should wish to break out under the door, where there was a triple guard to pass. The sentinels remained, and, in the morning, prisoners were sent to wheel away the sand. The hole was walled up and boarded, and my fetters were renewed. They laughed at the ridiculousness of my undertaking, but punished me, by depriving me of my light and bed, which, however, in a fortnight, were restored. Of the other hole, out of which most of the earth had been thrown, no one was aware. The major and lieutenant were too much my friends to remark, that they had removed thrice the quantity of sand the false

opening could contain. They supposed, this strange attempt having failed, it would be my last, and Bruckhausen grew negligent.

The governor and sub-governor both visited me, after some weeks, but, far from the brutality of Borck, the landgrave spoke to me with great mildness, promised me his interest to regain my freedom, when the peace should be concluded; told me I had more friends than I might suppose, and assured me I had not been quite forgotten by the court of Vienna. The manner in which I answered him moved him to the soul: in vain he endeavoured to hide his tears, while I, in a moment of exquisite sensibility, fell at his feet, arose, and pleaded like Cicero, happy to have met with a prince, who thought and felt like a man.

He promised me every alleviation, and I gave him my word of honour I would never more attempt to escape while he remained governor. The manner in which I spoke enforced conviction, and it was then he ordered my neck-collar to be taken off, my window to be unclosed, my doors every day to be two hours open, a stove, which I might light myself, to be put in my dungeon, finer linen for my shirts, and paper to amuse myself. The sheets of paper were to be numbered when given, and when returned, by the town-major, that I might not abuse this liberty.

Ink was not allowed me; I therefore pricked my finger, suffered the blood to trickle into a pot, and, when coagulated, warmed it again in my hand, throwing away the fibrous parts that would not liquefy; by this means I procured a succedaneum for ink, both to write and draw.

I now busied myself with engraving my cups, and versifying. I had free opportunity to display such abilities as I possessed, to excite esteem and awaken compassion. My emulation was increased by the knowledge that my productions were seen and read at courts, and that the princess Amelia, and the queen

himself, testified their satisfaction. I had soon subjects sent me; and the wretch whom the king intended to immure and bury alive, whose name no man was to mention, never lived to better purpose, nor was more famous, than while he vented his groans in this dungeon. My writings produced their effect, and, in reality, regained my freedom. To my cultivation of the sciences, and presence of mind in danger, am I indebted for all; these could not all the power of Frederick deprive me of; by these I obtained that which he, in his wrath and the might of his despotism, had intended to take from me eternally! Yes; this liberty I procured, though he had continually answered to all petitions in my behalf, "He is a dangerous man; and, so long as I have life, he shall never see light!"

I return to my dungeon. Here, after my last conference with the landgrave, I waited my coming fate, with a mind more at ease than that of many a prince in his palace. My dawn of hope daily grew more bright. The newspapers they brought me foretold approaching peace, on which all my dependence was placed, and I passed eighteen months calmly and without further attempt.

The father of the landgrave died; he had, till then, been only hereditary prince; and Magdeburg now lost its noble governor. The worthy Reichmann, however, testified for me all compassion and esteem. I had books; my time was employed, and, therefore, stole unperceived away. Imprisonment and chains to me were become habitual, and freedom, in all her lovely forms, sleeping and awake, in hope approached.

About this time I wrote a great variety of poems, the most and the best of which are now lost to me. When I was set at liberty, I had none but such as I remembered, and these I committed to writing. On my first personal visit to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, I received a volume of them written in my own blood;

but there were certainly eight of these which I shall scarcely ever regain.

The death of Elizabeth, the deposing of Peter III., and the accession of Catharine II., produced peace. On the receipt of this intelligence, I endeavoured to provide for all possible contingencies. The worthy Captain K—— had opened me a correspondence with Vienna: I was assured of support; but was likewise assured the administrators, and those who possessed my estates, would throw every possible impediment in the way of freedom. I endeavoured to persuade another officer to aid my escape, but in vain; no second Schell was to be found. The will consented, but the heart recoiled.

I therefore opened my old hole, and my friends assisted me, all in their power, further to disencumber myself of sand. My money melted away, but they provided me with tools, gun-powder, and a good sword. I had remained so long quiet, that my flooring was no more examined.

My intent was to wait the peace, and, should I still continue in chains, then would I have my subterranean passage to the rampart ready for escape. For my further security, an old lieutenant had, with my money, purchased a house in the suburbs, where I might lie concealed. Gummern, in Saxony, is only two miles from Magdeburg; here a friend, with two good horses, was to wait a whole year; to ride on the glacis of Klosterbergen, on the first and fifteenth of each month, and, at a given signal, to hasten to my assistance.

My passage was to be ready in case of emergency; I therefore removed the planking, broke up the two underbeds, cut the boards into chips, and burnt them in my stove. By this I obtained so much additional room as to proceed half way with my mine. Linen again was brought me, sand bags made, and thus I success-

fully proceeded to all but the last operation. Every thing was afterwards so well closed and concealed, that I had nothing to fear from the narrowest inspection, sufficient of the under-flooring being left to support the upper, and it appeared doubly nailed, as before, to avoid suspicion, especially as the new-come garrison could not know what was the original length of the planks.

This severe labour reduced me again to a very feeble state of body ; and while mining under the foundation of the rampart, just as I was going to carry out the sand-bag, I struck my foot against a stone in the wall above, which fell down, and closed up the passage.

What was my horror to find myself thus buried alive ! After a short time for reflection, I began to work the sand away from the side, that I might obtain room to turn round. By good fortune, there were some feet of empty space, into which I threw the sand as I worked it away ; but the small quantity of air soon made it so foul, that I, a thousand times, wished myself dead, and made several attempts to strangle myself. Further labour began to seem impossible. Thirst almost deprived me of my senses, but, as often as I put my mouth to the sand, I inhaled fresh air. My sufferings were incredible, and I imagined I passed full eight hours in this distraction of horror. Of all dreadful deaths, surely such a death as this is the most dreadful. My spirits fainted ; again I somewhat recovered, again I began to labour, but the earth was as high as my chin, and I had no more space into which I might throw the sand, that I might turn round. I made a more desperate effort, threw my body into a ball, and turned around. I now faced the stone, which was as wide as the whole passage, but, there being an opening at top, I respired fresh air. My next labour was, to root away the sand under the stone, and let it

sink, so that I might creep over, and, by this means, at length I once more happily arrived in my dungeon.

The morning was advanced; I sat myself down so exhausted, that I supposed it was impossible I had time or strength to cover up and conceal my hole. After half an hour's rest, however, my fortitude returned; again I went to work, and, scarcely had I ended, before the resounding locks and bolts told the approach of my visitors.

They found me pale as death: I complained of the headache, and continued some days so much affected, by the fatigue I had sustained, that I began to imagine my lungs were impaired. After a time, health and strength returned; but, perhaps, of all my nights of horror, this was the most horrible. I long repeatedly dreamed I was buried alive, in the centre of the earth; and now, though three-and-twenty years are elapsed, my sleep is still haunted by this vision.

After this accident, whenever I worked in my cavity, I hung a knife round my neck, that, in case I should be again so enclosed, I might shorten my miseries. Over the stone that had fallen, were several others that hung tottering, under which I was several hundred times obliged to creep.

When my passage was ready, so that I could break out when I pleased, I wrote several letters to my friends at Vienna, and also an impassionate memorial to my sovereign. When the militia left Magdeburg, and the regulars returned, I took an affectionate leave of my friends, who had behaved to me with so much humanity, and so benevolently supplied my wants. Several weeks elapsed before they departed, and I learned that General Reidt was appointed ambassador from Vienna to Berlin.

I knew this general was not averse to a bribe; I wrote him a moving letter, conjuring him not to abandon me, and to act with perhaps more ardour in my

behalf than his instructions might imply ; I enclosed a draught for six thousand florins, on my effects at Vienna, and he received four thousand more from one of my relations. I have to thank these ten thousand florins for my freedom, which I obtained nine months after.

I received intelligence, before the garrison departed, that no stipulation had been made on my behalf at the treaty of Hubertsberg.* The Vienna plenipotentiaries, after, and not before the articles were signed, mentioned my name to Hertzberg, but with little earnestness of solicitation. From Berlin indeed I received private assurances of every effort being made to move Frederick, a promise on which I could much better rely than on my protectors at Vienna, who so many years had left me in misfortune. I therefore determined to wait three months longer, and, should I still find myself neglected, to owe my escape to myself.

On the change of the garrison, the officers, being all of the nobility, were much more difficult to gain than the former. The majors literally obeyed their orders ; their help was unnecessary ; but still I sighed for my old friends. I had only ammunition bread again for food, as no one supplied me with the least comfortable addition.

My time hung very heavy ; every thing was carefully examined on the change of the garrison. A still stricter scrutiny might occur, and all my projects be discovered. This had nearly been effected by accident, as I shall here relate. I had, two years before, so tamed a mouse, that it would play round me, and eat from my mouth : in this small animal, I discovered proofs of intelligence too great easily to gain belief.

* The release of Trenck was so feebly mentioned by the Austrian plenipotentiary, that Hertzberg, the Prussian minister, took not the least notice of the affair. T.

This intelligent mouse had nearly been my ruin. I had diverted myself with it during the night; it had been nibbling at my door, and capering on a trencher. The sentinels, happening to hear our amusement, called the officers; they heard also, and added, all was not right in my dungeon. At day-break my doors resounded; the town-major, a smith, and mason entered; strict search was begun; flooring, walls, chains, and my own person, were all scrutinized; but in vain. They asked what was the noise they had heard. I mentioned the mouse, whistled, and it came, and jumped upon my shoulder. Orders were given I should be deprived of its society; I earnestly entreated they should spare its life. The officer on guard gave me his word of honour he would present it to a lady, who would treat it with the utmost tenderness.

He took it away, turned it loose in the guard-room, but it was tame to me alone, and sought a hiding place. It had fled to my prison door, and, at the hour of visitation, ran into my dungeon, immediately testifying its joy, by its antic leaping between my legs. It is worthy of remark, that it had been taken away blindfold, that is to say, wrapped in a handkerchief. The guard-room was a hundred paces from my dungeon. How then did it find its master? Did it know, or did it wait for the hour of visitation? Had it remarked the doors were daily opened?

All were desirous of obtaining this mouse, but the major carried it off for his lady; she put it into a cage, where it pined, refused all sustenance, and in a few days was found dead.

The loss of this little companion, made me, for some time, quite melancholy; yet, on the last examination, I perceived it had so eaten away the bread, by which I had concealed the crevices I had made in cutting the floor, that the examiners must be all but blind not to discover them. I was convinced, my faithful little friend had fallen a necessary victim to his master's

safety. My keepers were persuaded I had neither the will, nor the power, to make further attempts at freedom. This accident, however, determined me not to wait even the three months.

I have already related, horses were to be kept ready on the first and fifteenth, and I only suffered the first of August to pass, because I would not injure the worthy Major Peuhl, who had treated me with more compassion than his comrades, and whose day of visitation it was. On the 15th, I determined to fly. This resolution formed, I waited in anxious expectation of the day, when a new and most remarkable succession of accidents again happened.

An alarm of fire had obliged the major of the day to repair, in haste, to the town; he therefore committed the keys to the lieutenant. The latter, coming to visit me, with a look of compassion, asked, "Dear Trenck, have you never, during seven years that you have been under the guard of the militia, found a man like Schell?" "Alas! sir," answered I, "such friends are indeed rare: the will of many has been good: each knew I could make his fortune, but none had courage enough to make so desperate an attempt! Money I have distributed freely, but have received little help."

"Money! how do you obtain money in this dungeon?" "From a secret correspondent at Vienna, by whom I am still supplied. If I can serve you, command me; I will do it willingly, without asking any return. So saying, I immediately took fifty ducats from between the panels, and gave them to him. At first he refused, but at length accepted them with fear. He left me, promised to return, pretended to shut the door, and kept his word. He now avowed, debt obliged him to desert, that this had long been his determination, and that, could he assist me, at the same time, he was ready and willing. I had only to show how this might be effected.

We continued two hours in conference ; a plan was soon formed, approved, and almost a certainty of success demonstrated ; especially when I told him I had two horses in waiting. We vowed eternal friendship, I gave him fifty additional ducats, and he had never before been so rich ; his whole debts, which would oblige him to desert, not amounting to more than two hundred rix dollars, which, however, he never could have discharged out of his pay.

He was to prepare four keys, that were to resemble those of my dungeon ; the latter were to be exchanged on the day of flight, being kept in the guard-room, while the major was with General Walrabe. He was to give the grenadiers on guard leave of absence for some hours, or send them into the town on various pretexts. The sentinels at the gate he was to call from their duty, and those placed over me were to be sent into my dungeon, to take away my bed. While encumbered with this, I was to spring out, and lock them in, after which we were to mount our horses, kept ready, and ride full speed to Gummern. Every thing was to be prepared within a week, when he again was to mount guard. We had scarcely fully formed our project before the sentinels called, the major was coming ; he accordingly hastily barred up the doors, and the major passed to General Walrabe.

No man now was happier than myself, though I was in a dungeon. My hopes of escape were triple ; the mediation at Berlin, the mine I had made, and my new friend, the lieutenant.

Intoxicated with hope and joy, then, when most my mind ought to have been cool and clear, I seemed to have lost my understanding. I came to a resolution, which will appear, to every reasonable man, extravagant, absurd, pitiable. I was vain enough, stupid enough, mad enough, to form the design of casting myself on the generosity and magnanimity of the

Great Frederick! Should this fail, I still thought my lieutenant a certain saviour.

Having heated my imagination with this lamentable scheme, I expected the hour of visitation with anxiety. The major entered; I bespoke him thus:

"I know, sir, the great Prince Ferdinand is again at Magdeburg." (My new friend had told me this.)

"Be pleased to inform him that he may first examine my prison, double the sentinels, and afterward give me his commands, stating at what hour it will please him I should make my appearance, in perfect freedom, on the glacis of Klosterbergen. If I prove myself capable of this, I then hope for the protection of Prince Ferdinand, and that he will relate my proceeding to the king, who may thereby be convinced of my innocence, and the perfect clearness of my conscience."

The major was astonished; supposed my brain turned. The proposal he held to be ridiculous, and the performance impossible. I, however, persisted; he rode to town, and returned with the sub-governor, Reichmann, the town-major, Kiding, and the major of inspection. The answer they delivered was, that the prince promised me his protection, the king's favour, and a certain release from my chains, should I prove my assertion. I required they would appoint a time: they ridiculed the thing as impossible, and at last said, that it would be sufficient, could I only prove the practicability of such a scheme; but, should I refuse, they would immediately break up the whole flooring, and place sentinels in my dungeon night and day; adding, the governor would not admit of any actual breaking out.

After the most solemn promises of faith, I immediately disencumbered myself of my chains, raised up my flooring, gave them my arms and implements, and also two keys, that my friend had procured me, to the doors of the subterranean gallery. This gallery I desired them to enter, and sound with their sword hilts at the

place through which I was to break, which might be done in a few minutes. I further described the road I was to take through the gallery, informed them, that two of the doors had not been shut for six months, and to the others they already had the keys; adding, I had horses waiting at the glacis, that would be immediately ready; the stables for which were unknown to them.

They went, examined, returned, put questions, which I answered with as much precision as the engineer who built the Star Fort could have done. They left me with seeming friendship, continued away about an hour, came back, told me the prince was astonished at what he had heard, that he wished me all happiness. and then took me unfettered to the guard house. The major came in the evening, treated us with a sumptuous supper, assured me every thing would happen to my wishes, and that Prince Ferdinand had already written to Berlin.

The guard was re-enforced next day: two grenadiers entered the officers' room as sentinels. The whole guard loaded with ball, before my eyes, the draw bridges were raised in open day, and precautions were taken as if it were supposed I intended to make attempts as desperate as those I had made at Glatz. I now saw numerous workmen employed in my dungeon, and carts bringing quarry-stones. The officers on guard behaved with great kindness, kept a good table, at which I ate, but two sentinels, and an under officer never quitted the guard-room. Conversation was very cautious, and this continued five or six days: at length, it was my new friend, the lieutenant's, turn to mount guard; he appeared to be as friendly as formerly, but conference was difficult: he, however, found an opportunity to express his astonishment at my ill-timed discovery, told me the prince knew nothing of the affair, and that the report propagated through the garrison was, that I had been surprised in making a new attempt.

I now saw my error, but, alas ! too late ; I assured my friend this step had been occasioned by my reliance on his promise. He lamented my mistake, but affirmed himself still the same. My courage strengthened, and I vowed vengeance against the mean conduct of the sub-governor.

My dungeon was completed in about a week. The town-major and major of the day re-conducted me to it. My foot only was chained to the wall, but with links twice as strong as formerly ; the remainder of my irons were never after added.

Instead of flooring, the dungeon was paved with huge flat stones. The prison was made impenetrable. That part of my money only was saved which I had concealed in the panels of the door, and the chimney of the stove ; some thirty louis-d'ors hidden about my clothes were taken from me.

While the smith was riveting my chains, I addressed myself to the sub-governor. "Is this the consequence of the pledged honour of the prince ? has the magnanimity of my conduct deserved such treatment ? But think not you deceive me ; I am acquainted with the false reports that have been spread ; the truth will soon come to light, and the unworthy be put to shame : nay, I now foretell you, Trenck shall not much longer be in your power ; for, were you to build your dungeon of steel, it would still be insufficient to contain me."

They smiled at my threats. Reichmann, however, desired me to take courage, and said I might probably soon obtain my freedom, after a proper manner. My firm reliance on my friend, the lieutenant, gave me, instead of appearing sunken and despondent, a degree of confidence that amazed them all.

It is here necessary farther to explain this affair. When I had obtained my liberty, I visited Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He informed me the majors had not made a true report, being afraid of reprimand for their own carelessness. Their story was, they had

caught me at work, and, had it not been for their extreme diligence, I should certainly have made my escape. Prince Ferdinand heard the truth some time after, and informed the king, who, from that time, only waited a favourable opportunity to restore me to liberty.

Once more was I immured, cursing in my heart the cruelties of kings and governors: this time, however, they were innocent, because deceived.

I waited in anxious hope for the day when my deliverer was to mount guard. What again was my despair, when, instead of him, I saw another lieutenant! I buoyed myself up with the expectation, that accident was the occasion of this, but I remained three weeks in the same suspense, and saw him no more. Ask I durst not, but heard at length he had left the corps of grenadiers, and therefore was no longer to mount guard at the Star Fort. Whether he was afraid, repented his engagement, or that the hundred ducats had procured him better prospects, I neither know, nor ever wish to know: but, be it as it may, his absence cut off all hope.

I bitterly now repented my folly and untimely vanity: melancholy seized my mind; I had brought my misfortunes on myself. When I had removed every impediment, the confidence I placed in the honour of man again plunged me near six months longer in affliction, doubled my despair. I had myself rendered my dungeon impenetrable. Death would have followed, but for the dependence I placed in the court of Vienna.

The officers soon remarked the loss of my accustomed fortitude, and gloomy thoughtfulness. I was less industrious on my cups; the verses I wrote were desponding. The only comfort they could give, was, "Patience, dear Trenck: your condition cannot be worse; the king will not live for ever." Small consolation this! Were I sick, they told me I then might hope my sufferings would soon have an end. If I

recovered, they pitied me, and lamented their continuance. What man of my rank and expectations ever endured what I have endured, ever was treated as I have been treated?

Peace had been concluded nine months. I was forgotten. At last, however, when I supposed all hope lost, the 24th of December, and the day of freedom, came! At the hour of parade, Count Schlieben, lieutenant of the guards, arrived, and brought orders for my release!

The sub-governor supposed me weaker in intellects than I really was, and would not too suddenly tell me these happy tidings. He knew not the presence of mind, the fortitude, which the various dangers I had seen had made habitual.

My doors for the LAST TIME resounded!—Several people entered; their countenances were more than usually cheerful, and the sub-governor, at their head, at length said, "This time, my dear Trenck, I am the joyful messenger of good news. Prince Ferdinand has prevailed on the king to let your irons be taken off. Accordingly, to work went the smith—" "You shall also," continued he, "have a better apartment." "I am free then," said I, "and you are afraid to tell me so too suddenly. Speak! fear not! I can moderate my transports."

"Then you are free," was the reply.

The sub-governor first embraced me, and afterward his attendants.

He asked me what clothes I would wish. I answered, the uniform of my regiment. The tailor attended, and took measure. Reichmann told him it must be made by the morning. The man excused himself, because it was Christmas eve. "So, then, this gentleman must remain in his dungeon because it is holyday with you." The tailor was answered, and promised to be ready.

The smith having ended his work, I was taken to

the guard-room: congratulations were universal, and the town-major administered the oaths customary to all state prisoners.

First. That I should avenge myself on no man.

Secondly. That I should neither enter the Prussian nor Saxon states.

Thirdly. That I should never relate, by speech or in writing, what had happened to me.

Fourthly. That, so long as the king lived, I should neither serve in a civil nor military capacity.

Count Schlieben delivered me a letter from the Imperial minister, General Reidt, in Berlin, to the following purport: that he was heartily rejoiced at having found an opportunity of obtaining my liberty from the king; that I must cheerfully obey the requisitions of Count Schlieben, whose orders were to accompany me to Prague.

"Yes, dear Trenck," said Schlieben, "I am to conduct you in a covered wagon through Dresden to Prague, with orders not to suffer you to speak to any one on the road. I have received three hundred ducats from General Reidt to defray the expense of travelling. A wagon must be purchased; but as all things cannot be prepared to day, the sub-governor has determined we shall depart to-morrow night."

Once more at liberty, I walked about the fortifications, to accustom myself to light and air, and collected the money I had concealed in my dungeon, which amounted to about seventy ducats. To every man on guard I gave a ducat, to the sentinels, then on duty over me, each three, and ten ducats to be divided among the relief-guard. I sent the officer on guard a present from Prague, and the remainder of my money I bestowed on the widow of the kind, the honest, the worthy Gefhardt. He, poor fellow, was no more, and she had intrusted the secret of the thousand florins to a young soldier, who, spending too freely, was suspected, betrayed her, and she passed two years in the

House of correction. Gefhardt never received any punishment; he was killed in the field. Had he left any children, I should in duty have provided for them. To the widow of the man who hanged himself before my prison door, in the year 1756, I gave thirty ducats, lent me by Schlieben.

The night was riotous, the guard made merry, and I passed the most of it in their company. I was visited by all the generals of the garrison on Christmas morning, for I was not allowed to enter the town. Boots, uniform, all were made ready by noon. I was dressed, viewed myself in the glass, and found pleasure; but the tumult of my own passions, the congratulations I received, and the vivacity of every thing round me, prevented my remembering incidents minutely.

Evening came, and with it Count Schlieben, a wagon and four post-horses. After a very affecting farewell we departed. Who could have persuaded me I should have shed tears at leaving Magdeburg? Yet tears I actually did shed. It seems equally strange, that I lived there ten years, yet never saw the town.

The exact duration of my imprisonment at Magdeburg was nine years, five months, and some days; add to these the seventeen months' imprisonment at Glatz, and the amount is eleven years.

On the second of January I arrived with Count Schlieben safely at Prague, and the same day he delivered me to the then governor, the Duke of Deuxponts. He received me with kindness and distinction; we dined with him two successive days, and all Prague was anxious to see a man, who had surmounted ten years of suffering so unheard of as mine. Here I received three thousand florins, and paid General Reidt his three hundred ducats, which he had advanced Count Schlieben, for the expenses of my journey, the repayment of which he demanded in his letter, although he had already received ten thousand florins. The expense of returning I also paid to Schlieben, made him a present,

and provided myself with some necessaries. After remaining a few days at Prague, a courier arrived from Vienna, to whom it is most worthy of remark, I was obliged to pay forty florins, with an order from government to bring me under a strong guard from Prague to Vienna. My sword was demanded; Captain Count Wels and two inferior officers entered the carriage, which I was obliged to purchase, in company with me, and brought me to Vienna. I took up a thousand florins more in Prague, to defray these expenses, and was obliged in Vienna to pay the captain fifty ducats, for travelling charges back.

I entered Vienna like a criminal, was sent as a prisoner to the barracks, there kept in the chamber of Lieutenant Blonket, with orders that I should be suffered to write to no one, speak to no one, without a ticket from Counsellors Kempf and Huttner.

So I remained six weeks: at length, the colonel of the regiment of Poniatowski, Count Alton, spoke to me. I related what I supposed were the reasons of my being thus kept a prisoner in Vienna; and to the exertions of this worthy man am I indebted, that the shominable intentions of my enemies were frustrated, which were to have me imprisoned during life, as insane, in the fortress of Glatz. Had they once removed me from Vienna, all had been lost, and I should have pined away the poor remainder of my life in a mad-house. Yet, when at liberty, could I never obtain justice against these men! By their means was the empress persuaded, that my brain was affected, and that I continually uttered the most violent threats against the king of Prussia. The election of a king of the Romans was then in agitation, and the court was apprehensive lest I, with a rash desire of vengeance, should set something that might offend the Prussian envoy. General Reidt had, moreover, been obliged to promise Frederick, that I should not be suffered to appear in Vienna, and that they should hold a most wary eye

over me. The empress queen felt compassion for my supposed disease, and asked if no assistance could be afforded me; to which they answered, I had several times been let blood, but that I still remained a very dangerous man.

They added, that I squandered my money strangely, having taken up and dispersed four thousand florins in six days at Prague; that it would, therefore, be proper to appoint curators, or guardians, to impede such extravagances.

Count Alton, however, spoke of me, and my hard destiny, to the Countess Paar, mistress of the ceremonies to the empress queen, a noble-minded lady. The late emperor entered the chamber while I was the subject of discourse, and asked whether I ever had any lucid intervals. "May it please your majesty," answered Alton, "he has now been seven weeks in custody at my barracks, and I never in my life met a more reasonable, or more agreeable man. There must be something mysterious in this affair, or he could not be treated as a madman, or so represented at court. That he is not so in any wise I pledge my honour."

The next day, the emperor sent Count Thurn, guard master of the archduke Leopold, to speak to me. In him I found a worthy man, an enlightened philosopher, and a lover of his country. To him I related how I had been twice betrayed, twice sold at Vienna, during my imprisonment; demonstrated, that my administrators had only acted in this vile manner, that I might be imprisoned for life, and they remain undisturbed in possession of my effects. We conversed together two hours: I gained his confidence and heart, and he continued my friend till death. He left me, promised protection, returned the following day, and procured me an audience of the emperor.

I spoke with freedom; the audience lasted more than an hour. At length the emperor was so moved, that he rose from his seat, and retired into the next

apartment : I saw the tears drop from his eyes. With sympathetic enthusiasm, I fell at his feet, and embraced his knees. Words I had none, but my looks, my tears, were indeed eloquent. The emperor tore himself from me, and I departed, with sensations such as only those can know, who, themselves being virtuous, have unfortunately met with vile and wicked men.

I returned to my barracks in all the raptures of joy, and an order, the next day, came for my release. I went with Count Alton to the Countess Paar, who desired to see me, and, by her mediation, I obtained a private audience of the empress.

I cannot describe the kindness of the sovereign; how much she pitied my sufferings, how much she admired my fortitude. I had not opportunity to speak a word; her professions of pity preventing my stating the justness of my case. She told me she was informed of all the vile artifices practised against me in Vienna; required, however, I should mention no past grievances, should forgive all my enemies, avoid all retrospect, and pass all the accounts of my administrators. I would have spoken. "Do not complain of any thing," said she, "but act as I desire. I know all—you shall be recompensed by me; you deserve reward and repose, and these you shall enjoy." What could I do? I must either sign whatever was given me to sign, or be sent to a mad-house. I received orders to accompany M. Pistrice to Counsellor Zeigler: thither I went, and the next day was obliged to sign, in their presence, the following conditions:

First. That I acknowledged the will of Trenck to be valid.

Secondly. That I renounced all claim to the Slavonian estates, relying alone on her majesty's favour.

Thirdly. That I solemnly acquitted my accountants and curators: and,

Lastly. That I would not continue in Vienna.

Justly dissatisfied, I determined to avoid Austria eternally.

Before my intended departure to seek my fortune, I fell ill, and sickness almost brought me to the grave. The empress, hearing of my condition, in her great clemency, sent one of her own physicians, and a charitable friar, to my assistance; both of whom I was at last obliged to pay. My own doctor would have restored me much cheaper.

At this time I received, unsolicited, a major's commission, for which I was obliged to pay the fees. Being excluded from actual service, the title to me was of little value; my rank in the army had been at least equal ten years before in other service. The following words, inserted in my commission, are not unworthy remark: "Her majesty, in consequence of my fidelity and zeal for her service, so conspicuously demonstrated during a long imprisonment, my extraordinary endowments, and exemplary virtues, had been graciously pleased to grant me, in the Imperial service, the rank of major." The rank of major! From this preamble, who would not have expected either the rank of general, or the restoration of my great Slavonian estates? I had been fifteen years a captain of cavalry, and now was I most graciously made an invalid major! I was made an invalid major three-and-twenty years ago, and an invalid major I still remain!

I sought an audience, but this was no more to be obtained. I attended the levee of Prince Kaunitz. Not personally known to him, he, on his pinnacle of power, viewed in me a crawling insect among the swarm beneath. I thought somewhat more proudly, quitted the apartment, and at the door was congratulated on my good fortune, of having obtained an audience!

I applied to the field-marshal, from whom I received this remarkable answer:—"If you cannot purchase, my dear Trenck, it will be impossible to admit you into actual service; besides, you are too old to learn our very difficult manœuvres." I was then thirty-seven. I briefly replied, "Your excellency mistakes my char-

acter; I did not come to Vienna to serve as an invalid major. I have no money, but, had I millions, I would never obtain rank in the army by that mode." I quit-
ted the room with a shrug. The next day I addressed
a memorial to the empress: but obtained not so much
as an answer to this, and a hundred other similar pe-
titions.

I had bought a house in Vienna, in the year 1785.
The price was sixteen thousand florins. After being
released from my dungeon at Magdeburg, I inquired
concerning my house, but no longer found it mine.
My house was in other hands, and I was brought in
debtor six thousand florins, for interest and costs of suit.

It has been asserted, the empress delivered me from
imprisonment. But no, I positively declare the con-
trary. I remained nine months in my dungeon after
the articles were signed, unthought of, and, when men-
tioned by the Austrians, the king had twice rejected
the proposal of my being set free. The affair actually
happened as follows, according to the account I receiv-
ed from their royal highnesses, Prince Henry, Prince
Ferdinand, and particularly from the minister, Count
Hertzberg. General Reidt had received my ten thou-
sand florins full six months, and seemed to remember
me and my imprisonment no more. One gala day,
however, on the 21st of December, the king happened
to be in an extraordinary good humour, and her ma-
jesty the queen, the Princess Amelia, and the present
monarch, said to the imperial minister, "This is a fit
opportunity for you to speak in behalf of Trenck." He
accordingly waited his time, did speak, and the king
replied, "Yes."

The joy of the whole company appeared so great,
that Frederick the Great was offended!

Other circumstances which contributed to promote
this affair, the reader will easily collect from my his-
tory. That there were persons in Vienna who earnest-
ly desired to detain me in prison is indisputable, from

their proceedings after my return. My friends at Berlin, my own exertions, and my money, were my deliverers.

For some weeks after I first obtained my freedom, I was generally absent in mind, and deep in thought. This was a habit I acquired in prison, and the objects of sight appeared but as the visions of sleep. I often stopped in the streets, stared around me, doubted my own existence, and bit my finger, in order to convince myself I was really awake and alive.

Walking round the ramparts of Vienna, having recovered from my sickness, the vivifying spring, and the broad expanse of heaven, inspired consciousness of present freedom, and of pleasure indescribable. I heard the morning song of the lark. My heart palpitated, my pulse quickened, the blood trickled through my veins with delight, for I felt I was a man, and recollected I was not in chains. Happen, said I, what may, I fear not futurity, so long as my feet, my will, and my heart are free, and, like yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. My soul poured forth its thankfulness for this consciousness of freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, and seek some corner of the world, where virtue has nothing to fear from the tongues of slanderers, the commands of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.

An accident happened, which farthered my project. Marshal Laudohn was going to Aix-la-Chapelle, to take the waters. I had always personally honoured and loved this general, when he was no more than a captain of Pandours, in my cousin's regiment. He went to take his leave of the Countess Paar. I was present; the empress entered the chamber, and, the conversation turning on Laudohn's journey, said to me, "The baths, also, are necessary to the re-establishment of your health, Trenck." I was ready, and followed him in two days to Aix-la-Chapelle, where we remained about three months.

Here we were stared at as strange animals. All the world wished to see him, because of his fame in war, and me, because of my sufferings. The society of this worthy general poured balm into my wounded soul. He was as well acquainted with Vienna as myself: his fortitude and magnanimity had conquered his enemies. What he was he had made himself.

The mode of life at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa pleased me, where men of all nations meet, and where princes are obliged to mingle with people of all ranks, if they wish to seek conversation, and would not renounce society.

I scarcely had remained here a month, before my ever good friend, the Countess Paar, wrote to me, that the empress had provided for me, and would make my fortune, as soon as I should return to Vienna. I endeavoured to discover in what this good fortune consisted, but ineffectually. I hoped every thing from the empress, who well knew my hard destiny. The death of the Emperor Francis, at Inspruck, occasioned the return of General Laudohn, and I followed him on foot to Vienna.

By means of the Countess Paar, I obtained an audience in a few days. The empress received me graciously, and said to me, "I will prove to you, Trenck, that I keep my word. I have ensured your fortune: I will give you a rich and prudent wife." I replied, "Most gracious sovereign, I cannot determine to marry; and, if I could, my choice is already made at Aix-la-Chapelle."

"How! are you married, then?" "Not yet, please your majesty." "Are you promised?" "Yes." "Well, well, no matter for that, I will take care of that affair; I am determined on marrying you to the rich widow of M——, and she approves my choice. She is a very good kind of woman, and has fifty thousand florins a year. You are in want of such a wife."

I was thunder-struck. This lovely bride was an old

canting hypocrite of sixty-three, extremely covetous, and a termagant. I answered, "I must frankly speak truth to your majesty; I cannot consent, did she possess the treasures of the whole earth. I seek happiness, and not misery. I have made my choice, and given my word of honour, which, as an honest man, I must not break." The angry empress regarded me with contempt, and said, "Your unhappiness is your own work. Act as you think proper; I have done." Here my audience ended, and, thus dismissed, I bade an eternal adieu to any hope of reward from empresses and kings.

Had I been inclined to make my fortune, by marrying an old woman, I might long before, in 1750, have married one in Holland worth three millions. This proposal was to recompense me for the loss of my Sclavonian estates, and all my other innumerable afflictions. Compliance was moreover impossible; I was beloved in Aix-la-Chapelle, where mutual affection, reason, beauty, worth, and an exalted mind, all promised future happiness.

I was not actually affianced at this time to my present wife; but love determined me to return, to improve an intimacy so far advanced.

Marshal Laudohn knew my mistress, and promoted the match. He was acquainted with my heart, and the warmth of my passions, perceived I could not conquer the secret desire of vengeance on men, by whom I had been so cruelly, so wickedly treated. He and my friend, Professor Gillert, whom I visited at Leipzig, both advised me to take this mode of calming my passions, that often inspired projects too vast, and that, seeking tranquillity, I should fly the commerce of the great.

This friendly counsel was seconded by my own wishes. I returned to Aix-la-Chapelle in December, 1765, and married the youngest daughter of the former burgomaster De Broe. He was dead; he had lived on his own estate at Brussels, where my wife was born.

and educated. He had been called to this honourable office by the unanimous voice of the citizens of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was the descendant of an ancient and noble family, in the province of Artois; and some of his predecessors, who possessed estates near Aix-la-Chapelle; had, I know not for what reason, accepted the dignity of knights of the Roman empire. My wife's mother was sister to the vice-chancellor of Dusseldorf, Baron Roberte, Lord of Roland.

It is not generally known, at Vienna, that one of the two burgomasters of Aix-la-Chapelle must always be elected from a noble family, and the other from the citizens. My children, therefore, can prove their descent to be noble, both by the male and female line.

My wife has been with me in most parts of Europe, where she has always been esteemed as she deserves. She then was young, handsome, worthy, and virtuous, has borne me eleven children, all of whom she has nursed herself: eight of them are still living, and have been properly educated. God grant I may be enabled ever to provide for her as she deserves, and as is my duty. Two-and-twenty years has she borne a part in all my sufferings, and well deserves reward.

During my late short abode at Vienna, I made one effort more; I sought an audience from the present Emperor Joseph, related all that had happened to me, and particularly remarked such defects as I had observed in the government and regulations of the country.

He gave me an attentive hearing, proved his desire to increase the happiness of his people, and commanded me to commit my thoughts to writing. This I accordingly performed, stating, with precision and unreserve, the observations I had made on affairs, civil, military, and economical.

My memorial, though graciously received, produced no effect, and I hastened back to Aix-la-Chapelle.

For some years I lived here in peace; my house was the rendezvous of the first people, who came to take the waters. I began to be more known, and every where procured myself friends among the very first and best of people.

I also visited Professor Gillert, at Leipsic, showed him my manuscripts, and asked his advice concerning what branch of literature he thought I might best succeed in. He most approved my fables and tales, but blamed the excessive freedom with which I spoke in my political writing. I neglected his advice, and many ensuing calamities were the consequence.

My wife brought me a son in December, 1766: and I took this opportunity of writing to the youthful monarch, at Vienna, as follows:

"Your majesty is informed of my marriage. My wife has borne me a son whom I have christened Joseph. The Imperial chamberlain, Colonel and Baron Rippenda, stood sponsor, by proxy, for your majesty. This was done, without first obtaining your majesty's consent. I flattered myself your majesty would graciously be pleased thus far to honour me, knowing my loyalty and my misfortunes. It is, indeed, my hope, that my conduct will procure from your majesty a more happy futurity. This son I shall educate in the same loyal principles, and, rather than depart from them, he shall imbibe poison from his mother's breast.

"Most gracious emperor, while I live he will be provided for, but, at my death, then must he say to his sovereign, 'I am the son, and rightful heir of both the Trencks, whose lands and possessions have been seized by strangers and aliens.' I look upon you, gracious sovereign, as a protecting deity for my poor children. May your majesty participate my joy, and graciously welcome this new citizen of the world. May it also please you to inform me, whether it be

your gracious pleasure I should further present my thoughts in writing for your high inspection. My enemies at Vienna daily increase in strength; but on your sovereign protection I rely, and, whatever may be my fate, shall most faithfully and eternally remain the loyal servant of my emperor and my country.

"TRENCK."

I received the following answer, written by the emperor's own hand.

"*Dear Major Trenck,*

"I am well pleased that you have christened your son Joseph, and have chosen Colonel Rippenda as my proxy. As a proof of my good wishes towards you, I have, for manifest reasons, ordered that, henceforth, you shall receive your pay at Brussels, instead of Vienna. Continue to send me your writings; I am pleased to be informed of the truth; but they will give me more satisfaction, should you send them simple and unadorned, than in their former satirical dress.

"I am yours,

"JOSEPH."

I soon after received orders to correspond with his majesty's private secretary, Baron Roder: what this correspondence was, must not here be told; suffice it; to say, my attempts to serve my country were frustrated; I saw defects too clearly, spoke my thought too frankly, and wanted sufficient humility, ever to obtain favour.

In the year 1767 I wrote the Macedonian Hero, which became as famous, throughout all Germany, as *Eulenspiegel*—(The Malicious Wag.) The poem did me honour, but entailed new persecutions; yet, having wrote it, I never could repent: I have had the honour of presenting it to five reigning princes, by none of whom it has been burned. The empress, alone, was

highly enraged. I had spoken as Nathan did to David, and the Jesuits now openly became my enemies.

The following vile trick was played me in the year 1768. A friend in Brussels was commissioned to receive my quarterly pay, from whom I learned, an interdiction had been laid upon it by the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, in which I had been condemned to pay a note of seven hundred florins to one Bussy, with fourteen years' interest.

Bussy was a known swindler. I was conscious no one on earth had any such claim; I, therefore, journeyed post haste to Vienna. No hearing, no satisfactory account, was to be obtained. The answer was, "Sentence is passed, therefore all attempts are too late."

I applied to the emperor, Joseph, pledged my honour, and head, to prove the falsifications of this note, and intreated a revision of the cause. My request was granted, and my attorney, Weyhrauch, was an upright man. When he began to speak, and requested a day of revision to be appointed, he was threatened to be committed by the referendary, Zetto, should he undertake to interfere, and defend the affairs of Trenck. He answered firmly, "His defence is my business in this place: I know my cause to be good." Silence was imposed, and nothing further done.

Four months did I continue in Vienna, before the day was appointed to revise this cause. It now appeared evidently, there were erasures and holes through the paper in three places; all in court were convinced the claim ought to be annulled, and the claimant punished. Zetto, notwithstanding, ordered the parties to withdraw, and then so managed, that the judges resolved the case must be again laid before the court, with formal written proofs.

This gave time for new knavery. I was obliged to return to Aix-la-Chapelle, and four years elapsed, before this affair, clear as the meridian sun, was de-

cided. The priests, in the interim, who were such as father confessors to convents usually are, took false oaths, that they had actually seen me receive the money. At length, however, I proved, that the note was dated a year after I had been imprisoned at Magdeburg: I, consequently, could not give any such in Vienna. Nay, farther, my attorney proved the very writs of the courts had, likewise, been falsified. Zetto, the referendary, and Bussy; were absolutely the forgers; but I happened to be too active, and my attorney too honest, to lose this cause. I was obliged to make three very expensive journeys from Aix-la-Chapelle to Vienna, lest judgment should go by default. Sentence was at last necessarily pronounced: I gained my cause, and the note was declared a forgery; but the costs, amounting to three thousand five hundred florins, I was obliged to pay, for Bussy could not; nor was he corporally punished, though, at last, driven from Vienna for his villanous acts. Zetto, however, still continued referendary, still continued, for eighteen years, my barbarous persecutor; till, not long since, he was deprived of his office, and condemned to the house of correction.

My knowledge of the world increased at Aix-la-Chapelle, where men of all nations and characters met, particularly English. In the morning, I might converse with a lord in opposition, in the afternoon, with an orator of the king's party, and, at night, with an honest man, of no party. In conversation like this, knowledge is acquired and imparted. I sent Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the Empire; this occasioned me to undertake long journeys, and, as my increase of acquaintance gave me opportunities of receiving many foreigners with politeness in my house, I was, myself, also, well received wherever I went.

The income I should have had from Vienna was all engulfed by law-suits, curators, attorneys, and

the journeys I was obliged to undertake ; having been thrice so cited to appear, in person, before the Hofkriegsrath. To me nothing remained. I was described as a dangerous malecontent, who had deserted his native land, by which insinuations my enemies took care to profit. I, nevertheless, remained, be the country in which I lived what it would, an honest man, who would provide for his own necessities, without meanness, or the favour of courts ; one whose acquaintance was every where esteemed. In Vienna, alone, was I unsought, unemployed, and obscure.

My love of the chase made me particularly acceptable to the English, who brought with them their own horses and dogs, to hunt the wolf and wild bear, animals not to be found in their own country. I, in return, passed whole summers at their country seats, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and thus obtained a thorough knowledge of the nation.

The Elector Palatine had granted me a certain extent of country, in the territory of Juliers, where I might hunt ; and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, gave me permission to hunt where I pleased. To defend this right of hunting was now my duty, and occasioned various disputes ; these, however, were not often determined in courts of law, but, usually, every man asserted his claim with his sword.

One day an accident happened on this occasion, which made me renowned over the country as a magician, as one whom lead could not penetrate, and who had power over the fogs and clouds.

I had a quarrel with the Palatine president, Baron Blankart, concerning a hunting district. I, therefore, wrote to him, that, on a certain day, he should repair to the spot in dispute, whither I would also come, at ten in the morning, with sword and pistol, hoping he would there give me satisfaction for the affront I had received. Hither I went, with two huntsmen, and two friends ; but, instead of the baron,

was astonished to find two hundred armed peasants assembled.

What was to be done? I sent one of my huntsmen to the army of the enemy, informing them, that, did they not beat a retreat, I should fire. It was in the month of August, the day was clear and fine, and, suddenly, a thick and impenetrable fog arose. My huntsman returned, with intelligence, that, having delivered his message just as the fog came on, these valiant heroes had all run away in the greatest fright.

I advanced, found nobody, fired my piece, as did my friends and followers, and marched to the mansion of my adversary, where my hunting horn was blown in triumph in his court-yard. The runaway peasants fired at a distance, but the fog prevented their taking any aim.

Having taken this satisfaction, I returned home, where many false reports had preceded me. My wife expected I should be brought home dead, and that many others would be maimed; however, not the least mischief had happened.

It soon was propagated through the country, that I was a magician, had raised a fog to make myself invulnerable, and that the truth of this could be justified by two hundred eye-witnesses. All the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, and Cologne, publicly preached concerning me, reviled me, and warned the people to beware of the arch-magician, and Lutheran, Trenck.

On a future occasion, this belief I turned to matter of merriment. I went to hunt the wolf, in the extensive forests of the county of Montjoye, and invited the peasants and townsmen to the chase. The first day we had but little sport; towards evening, I, and some forty of my followers, retired to rest, in the neighbouring charcoal huts, well provided with wine and brandy. "My lads," said I, "it is now necessary you should all discharge your pieces, and load them

show, that to-morrow no wolf may escape, and that none of you may excuse yourselves on your pieces' missing fire." The guns were accordingly reloaded, and placed in a separate chamber, after which they began to eat, drink, and dance. While they were merry-making, my huntsman privately went into this chamber, drew the balls, and charged the pieces with powder, various of which he loaded with double charges. Some of their notched balls I put into my pocket.

In the morning away went I, and my fellows, to the chase. As we walked, their conversation turned on my necromancy, and the miraculous manner in which I could envelope myself in a cloud, or make myself bullet-proof. "What is that you are talking about, my lads?" said I. "Some of these unbelieving good folks," answered my huntsman, "affirm your honour is unable to ward off balls." "Well, then," said I, laughing, to one of them, "fire away, my good fellow, and try." The man refused, and my huntsman took the piece out of his hand, and fired. I pretended to parry with my hand, and called, "Let any man, that is so inclined, fire, but one at a time." Accordingly, they began, and, pretending to turn and twist about, I suffered them all to discharge their pieces. It must be remarked I was perfectly secure, as my people had carefully noticed that no man had re-loaded his gun. Some of them received such blows from the guns that were doubly charged, that they fell down, terrified in amazement at the powers of magic. I advanced, holding in my hand some of the marked balls. "Let every one choose his own," called I. All stood motionless, and many of them slunk home, with their guns on their shoulders; some few remained, and our sport was excellent.

On Sunday, the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle again began to preach. My black art became the theme of the whole country, and, at this day, many of the

people present will make oath, that they fired upon me, and that, after catching them in my hand, I returned the balls.

Thus easy is it to gull this wise world. My high and invulnerable qualities were published through Juliers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and Cologne; and, perhaps, this belief has more than ten times saved my life; the priests having propagated it from their pulpits, in a country which so swarms with high-way robbers, that one hundred and sixty men have been broken alive on the wheel, quartered, and burned, within a year, and where, for a single ducat, any man may hire an assassin.

It is, indeed, no small matter of surprise, that I should, for five years, have preserved my life in a town where there are twenty-three monasteries and churches, and where the monks are all adored as so many deities. The Catholic clergy had been sufficiently enraged against me, by my poem of "The Macedonian Hero:" and, in 1752, I published a newspaper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and another periodical work, entitled, "The Friend of Men," in which I endeavoured to unmask hypocrisy. Indeed, for me, an apostolic major of the apostolic Maria Teresa, to write thus in a town swarming with friars, and in a tone so undaunted, was unexampled.

Therefore did the arch-priest, and nine of his coadjutors, declare every Sunday from the pulpit, publicly naming me, I was a free-thinker, a wizard, one whom every man, wishing well to God and the church, ought to assassinate. The Jesuit, father Zunder, declared I was invulnerable, and a day was appointed on which my writings were to be burned before my house, the house itself razed, and its inhabitants massacred. My wife received letters, warning her to fly with her children for safety, which warning, she, in terror, obeyed. I and two of my huntsmen remained, provided with eighty-four loaded muskets. These I displayed in the

gallery before the window, that all might be convinced I would make a desperate defence. I lived opposite the court-house. The appointed day came, and father Zunder, with my writings in his hand, attended by all the students in the town, appeared ready for the attack; the other monks had incited the towns-people to a general storm; no man, however, had the heart to appear in the market place, while I stood in a gallery so well stored with fire arms. Thus passed the day and night in suspense.

In the morning a fire broke out in the town. I hastened, fearless, with my two huntsmen, secretly well-armed, to give assistance: we dashed the water from our buckets, and all obeyed my directions. Father Zunder and his students were there likewise; I approached him by degrees, and struck his anointed ear with my leathern bucket, as if by accident, which no man thought proper to notice. I passed undaunted through the crowd; the people all smiled, pulled off their hats to me, and wished me a good morning. Such are the populace, when they perceive they are not feared. The people of Aix-la-Chapelle were stupid bigots, but too cowardly to murder a man who was prepared for his own defence.

As I was riding to Maestricht, through a hollow way, a ball whistled by my ears, which no doubt was a messenger sent after me by these persecuting priests.

When hunting near the convent of Schwartzbruck, three Dominicans lay in ambush for me behind a hedge. One of their colleagues, who often hunted with me, pointed out the place. I was on my guard, with my double-barrelled gun, drew near, but called with a voice of terror—"Shoot, scoundrels! but do not kill me, for the devil stands ready for you at your elbow! One fired, and they all ran. The ball hit my hat. I fired likewise, and wounded one desperately, whom the other two carried off: he recovered, however, and afterward eloped with a cow-girl.

Their attempts at poisoning me were all unsuccessful, for I always ate at home. In the year 1774, journeying from Spa to Limbourg, I was attacked by eight banditti. The weather was rainy, and my musket was in its case; my sabre was entangled in the belt, so that, unable to draw it, I was obliged to defend myself as with a club. I sprang from the carriage, and, with every effort of nature fought in defence of my life, striking down all before me, while my faithful huntsman protected me behind. I dispersed my assailants, hastened to my carriage, and drove away. One of these fellows was soon after hanged, and owned, before execution, that the confessor of these banditti had promised perpetual absolution, could they but despatch me, but that no man could shoot me, because that Lucifer had rendered me invulnerable. Persuaded of the truth of this, fortunately for me, they had only assaulted me with clubs. My strength and agility, fighting too for life, was superior to theirs, and they buried two of their gang, whom, with my heavy sabre, I had killed. I escaped with a bruised arm and shoulder; my huntsman received a violent blow with a stone.

From my empress I had nothing further to hope. Her confessor had painted me, with all the craft of a priest, as an arch heretic, and persecutor of the holy and blessed mother church. Nor was this all: opinions were artfully propagated through Vienna, that I was a restless man, dangerous to the community. Such indeed is the universal supposition of all who have neither personally known me, nor read my writings.

Hence too was I always wronged in courts of judicature, where there are found wicked or bigoted men. The latter thought they were serving the cause of God by injuring me; and the former are ever the enemies of pure and simple truth, undauntedly displayed, it being their interest that virtue and patriotism should

fall the victims of falsehood. Yet were they unable to prevent my writings producing me much money, or being circulated through all Germany: The Aix-la-Chapelle Journal or Gazette became so famous in the first year, that, in the second, I had four thousand subscribers, by each of whom I gained a ducat.

The post-masters, who gain considerable by circulating newspapers, were envious, because the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette destroyed several of the others, and therefore formed a combination.

I will briefly notice what so much contributed to the sale of my newspaper. I was acquainted with most countries and courts, in which I had the best of correspondents: wherefore, instead of merely relating past events, I could foretell future. I was sometimes obliged to be ambiguous, yet my meaning was very capable of being understood.

Prince Charles of Sweden, eldest brother of the present king, placed the greatest confidence in me, during his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, and I accompanied him into Holland. When I took my leave of him, at Maestricht, while we were in the subterranean gallery of the fortifications, he said to me, "When my father dies, either my brother shall be king, or we will lose our heads.*" The king died, and Prince Charles soon after said, in a postscript of one of his letters, "What we spoke of at Maestricht will soon be fully accomplished, and you may then come to Stockholm."

On this I inserted an article in my gazette, declaring a revolution had taken place in Sweden, and that the king had made himself absolute. The other papers thought proper to express their doubts, and I im-

* The prince meant to say, the power of his father was so limited, that he was not a king. The present monarch has taken care to have no such complaint. T.

mediately offered to wager a thousand ducats on the truth of every article published in my gazette under the title "Aix-la-Chapelle." The news of the revolution in Sweden was instantaneously confirmed. This incident added greatly to the authenticity of my paper.

My gazette foretold the Polish partition six weeks sooner than any other ; but how I obtained this intelligence must not here be mentioned. I also was active in the defence of Queen Matilda, of Denmark.

The French ministry were highly offended at the following pasquinade : " The three eagles have rent the Polish bear, without losing a feather, with which any man in the cabinet of Versailles can write. Since the death of Mazarin, they write there only with goose quills."

By desire of the king of Poland, I wrote a narrative of the attempt made to assassinate him, and named the nuncio, who had given a general absolution to the conspirators, in the chapel of the holy virgin.

The house was now in flames. Rome insisted I should recall my words. Her nuncio, at Cologne, vented poison, daggers, and excommunication ; the empress-queen herself thought proper to interfere. I obtained from Warsaw a copy of the examination of the conspirator for my justification. This I threatened to publish ; and stood unmoved in the defence of truth. I derived new honours, but new prosecutors, likewise ; as for protectors, none : mine was the fate of all reformers, who must expect reward beyond the grave.

The empress wrote to the post-master-general of the empire, commanding him to lay an interdict on the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette. Informed of this, I ended its publication with the year, but wrote an essay on the partition of Poland ; which also did but increase my enemies. The priests took care not to be idle at these moments.

The magistracy of Aix-la-Chapelle is elected from the lower ranks of the people, and the burgher's court consists of an ignorant rabble. I know no exceptions but Baron Lamberte and De White; and, to heighten the ridicule, this people assume to themselves titles of dignity, for which they are amenable to the fiscal court at Vienna. Knowing I found little protection at Vienna, they imagined they might attack, and drive me from their town. I was a spy on their evil deeds, of whom they would willingly have rid themselves. I likewise knew, that the two sheriffs, Kloss and Furto, and the recorder, Geyer, had robbed the town chamber of forty thousand dollars, and divided the spoil. To these I was a dangerous man; for these reasons they sought a quarrel with me, pretending I had committed a trespass, by breaking down a hedge, and sent a sergeant, citing me to appear at their town-house.

It is a well known right of the empire, that no magistrate of these courts can enforce the personal appearance of a staff-officer. I was subject only to the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna. But by this court they soon understood I should not be protected. A most disagreeable litigation ensued. By accident I obtained a letter from Count Gravenitz, member of the Aulic council, to the post-master, Heinsberg, with whom I had also a suit pending, in which he said, that, though justice was on my side, he would undertake to weary me by procrastination: he fulfilled his promise, and my wife was obliged to pay three hundred florins of gold, under pain of execution, while I was absent at Vienna, endeavouring to obtain right.

This was a trifle. The post-master, Heinsberg, of Aix-la-Chapelle, although he had two thousand three hundred rix dollars of mine in his possession, instituted false suits against me on pretence of a note, which was nothing more than a receipt for a thousand dollars on account, obtained verdicts against me, contrary to the most clear and evident justice, seized on a cargo of

wine, worth three thousand eight hundred dollars, at Cologne, and I, on the whole, incurred losses to the amount of eighteen thousand florins, exclusive of the interruption given to the trade carried on in wine; which devoured the fortune of my wife, and by which she, with myself and my children, were reduced to poverty.

From the year 1774 to 1777, I chiefly spent my time in journeying through England and France. I was intimately acquainted with Dr. Franklin, the American minister; also with the Counts St. Germain and Vergennes, who made me advantageous proposals to go to America; but I was prevented accepting them by my affection for my wife and children.

My kind friend, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had been governor of Magdeburg during my imprisonment, offered me a commission in his service, among the troops going to America: but I answered,

"Gracious prince, my heart beats in the cause of freedom only; I will never assist in enslaving men. Were I at the head of your brave granadiers, I should revolt to the Americans."

During the year 1775, I continued, at Aix-la-Chapelle, my periodical essays, entitled, "The Friend of Men." My writing had made some impression; the people began to read; the monks were ridiculed, and became more humble: my partisans increased, and their arch leader had the good fortune to get himself cudgelled.

They did not now mention my name publicly, but catechised their penitents at confession. During this year, various simple people came to me from Cologne, Bonn, and Dusseldorf, desiring to speak with me in private. When I inquired their business, they told me their clergy had informed them I was propagating a new religion, in which every man must sign himself over to the devil, who then would supply them with money. They were willing to become converts to my faith, would Beelzebub but give them money, and re-

venge them on their priests. "My good friends," answered I, "your teachers have deceived you : I know of no devils but themselves. Were it, indeed, true that I was founding a new religion, the converts to which the devil would supply with money, your bishops, and priests, would be the very first of my apostles, and the most catholic. I am an honest, moral man, my worthy friends, as a Christian ought to be. Go home, in God's name, and do your duty. Be honest and industrious, and you will not then want the devil to bring you money."

My wine trade was so successful, that I had correspondents and stores in London, Paris, Brussels, Hamburg, and the Hague, and had gained forty thousand florins, with the most flattering prospects from England. One unfortunate day destroyed all my successful hopes in this traffic.

Being in London, I was defrauded of eighteen hundred guineas by swindlers. The relating of this story will do but little honour to the English nation. The fault was principally my brother-in-law's, a young man, who parted with the wine before he received the money. In England there is no law against such deceivers. They bid you trust nobody ; you will then not be wronged. And when I had been wronged, and asked my friends' assistance, I was only laughed at ; as if they were happy that an Englishman had the wit to cheat a German.

Finding myself defrauded of my wine, I hastened to Sir John Fielding. He was acquainted with me, told me he knew I had been swindled, and that his friendship would make him active in my behalf ; that he, also, knew the houses where my wine was deposited, and that a party of runners should go with me, sufficiently strong for its recovery. I was little aware that he had, at that time, two hundred bottles of my best Tokay in his cellar. His pretended kindness was a snare ; he was in partnership with robbers : the stupid

only he hanged, and preserved the most adroit for the promotion of trade.

He sent a constable and six of his runners with me, commanding them to act under my orders. By good fortune I had a violent headache, and could not attend them myself, but sent my brother-in-law, who spoke better English than I. Him they brought to the house of a Jew, and told him, "Your wine, sir, is here concealed." Though it was broad day, the door was locked, that he might be induced to act illegally. The constable desired him to break the door open, which he accordingly did: the Jews, in a pretended fright, came running, and asked, "What do you want, gentlemen?" "I want my wine," answered my brother. "Take what is your own," replied a Jew, "but beware of touching my property. I have bought the wine."

My brother attended the constable and runners into a cellar, and there found a great part of my wine. He wrote to Sir John Fielding, that he had found the wine, and desired to know how he was to act. Fielding, by a verbal message, answered, "It must be taken by the owner." My brother, accordingly, got a cart, and sent me the wine.

My brother attended the constable and runners, in like manner, to the house of another Jew, where they proceeded as before, and he came back, quite rejoiced at having recovered the wine.

Next day came a constable, with a warrant, saying, "He wanted to speak with my brother, and that it was to go to my friend, Sir John Fielding." When he was in the street, he touched him with his staff, and told him, "Sir, you are my prisoner." Here it must be remarked, that no man can be arrested in his own house in London; but when he is in the street, and the constable has touched him with his staff, he is beyond delivery; and, should he run, would be stopped by the people.

All this I was a spectator of, through the window, unable to give any assistance. I went, however, to Sir John Fielding, and asked what it all meant. This upright justice answered, in a magisterial tone, that my brother had been accused of felony. The Jews and swindlers had sworn the wine was a legal purchase. If I had not taken care to be paid, or was ignorant of the English laws, that was my fault. Six swindlers had sworn the wine was paid for; which circumstance he had not known, or he should not have granted me a warrant. My brother had also broken open doors, and forcibly taken away wine, which was not his own. They had legally made oath of this, and he was charged with burglary and robbery.

He farther desired me immediately to give bail in a thousand guineas for my brother, for his appearance in the court of king's bench; otherwise his trial would immediately come on, and, in a few days, he would be hanged.

What was my rage at finding myself thus treated! and how willingly would I have plunged my sword into the breast of a man so vile as the chief magistrate of London!

I hastened to a lawyer, who was my friend, who confirmed what had been told me, advised me immediately to give bail, and he would then defend my cause. I applied to Lord Mansfield, and received the same answer. I told my story to all my great friends, who were chiefly members of parliament, and they laughed at me, that I should trade in London, without better understanding the laws. My intimate friend, Lord Grosvenor, said, "Send more wine to London, and we will pay you so well, that you will soon recover your loss." This is the character of the nation. I am certain he would have kept his word, but I wanted the necessary capital.

I went to my wine merchants, who had stock in hand of mine worth upwards of a thousand guineas.

They gave bail for my brother, and in four days he was released.

Fielding, in the interim, sent his runners to my house, took back the wine, and restored it to the Jews, as property of which they had been robbed. They threatened farther to prosecute me as a receiver of stolen goods. I fled, in all haste, from London, through Dover, to Paris, where I immediately sold off my remaining stock at half price, honoured my bills, and so ended my merchandise.

My brother returned to London, in November, to defend his cause in the court of king's bench ; but the swindlers had disappeared, and the lawyer required a hundred pounds to proceed. The conclusion of all this was, my brother returned with seventy pounds less in his pocket, spent as travelling expenses ; and the stock, in the hands of my wine merchants, was detained on pretence of paying the bail. They brought me in an apothecary's bill, and all was lost. Thus do the English treat the Germans, notwithstanding I had so many friends in London.

I might fill a volume with similar instances. I shall only relate one short story. A German violin maker, in London, intending to return home, had bought a silver coffee pot, which was left standing on the table, in his chamber. Some one knocked at the door, and two Jews entered. One bespoke a violin, the other, while he was conversing, snatched up the coffee pot, and ran. The German looked round, and missed the coffee pot, but the other Jew told him, " Do not be uneasy, my friend ; go with me, and I will make my comrade give you back your coffee pot. It is only some trick ; he is a mad-headed fellow."

The poor German went with the Jew, who brought him into a chamber, where were four other Jews, and his coffee-pot on the table. He took it, and said, " God be praised, I have found it once more." The Jew answered not a word ; and the German returned

home with his coffee-pot. Forthwith went five Israelites to the justice, and swore, that the German had entered their chamber, and stolen thereout a silver coffee-pot. A constable attended them to the German's house. The Jew said, "That is my coffee-pot:" and the other swearers answered, "Yes, that is yours." The German was taken into custody, and, being destitute of witnesses, was hanged upon the evidence of five Jews.

I spoke with this poor fellow in prison, who told me the story himself; and actually saw this honest man hanged by the pitiless English. What will my readers now say of this high-esteemed nation, which, in reality, for a thousand reasons, merits our contempt?

Enough of the proud and selfish Britons, who would treat us, and all other nations, as they do their negroes, were we to fall under their dominion.

At Aix-la-Chapelle, I attacked those sharpers, in my weekly writings, who attended there, and at Spa, to plunder both inhabitants and visitants, under the connivance of the magistracy: nor are there wanting foreign noblemen, who become the associates of these pests of society. The publication of such truths endangered my life from some of these desperadoes, who, when detected, had nothing more to lose.

Though my life was much disturbed, yet do I not repent of my manner of acting; many a youth, many a brave and worthy man, have I preserved from destruction, detained from the gaming table, and personally pointed out to them the most notorious sharpers. This was so injurious to Spa, that the bishop of Liege himself, who enjoys the tax of forty per cent. on all their winnings, and, therefore, protects such villains, offered me an annual pension of five hundred guineas, if I would not come to Spa; or three per cent. on the winnings, would I but associate myself with Colonel M——t, and raise recruits for the gaming

table. My answer may easily be imagined; yet, for this, was I threatened to be excommunicated by the holy catholic church.

The Bavarian contest was at this time in agitation. My own affairs brought me to Paris, and here I learned particular intelligence of great consequence. This I communicated to the grand duke of Florence, on my return to Vienna. The duke departed to join the army in Bohemia, and I had occasion again to write to him, and, from the importance of the subject, thought it my duty to send a courier, at my own expense. The duke showed my letter to the emperor; my intelligence was received, but I myself remained unnoticed.

I did not think myself very safe in foreign countries, during the time of war, and, therefore, purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, with appurtenances, which, with the concomitant expenses, cost me sixty thousand florins. This lordship was in a ruinous condition, and was to be restored by my money and industry.

In May, 1780, I went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where my wife's mother died in July, and in September, my wife, myself, and family, all came to Vienna.

My wife solicited the mistress of the ceremonies to obtain an audience. Her request was granted; and she had the good fortune to gain the entire approbation of the empress. Her kindness was beyond expression: she herself introduced my wife to the arch-dutchess, as an example for women, and commanded her grand mistress of the ceremonies to present her every where. "You were unwilling," said she, "to accompany your husband into my country, but I hope to convince you, that you may live happier in Austria than at Aix-la-Chapelle." She said many other things equally kind.

She next day sent me her decree, assuring me of a pension of four hundred florins, adding, this should not be all she would do for me.

My wife petitioned the empress to grant me an audience. Her request was complied with, and the empress said to me, "This is the third time in which I would have made your fortune, had you been so disposed." The audience lasted long; her discourse was that of a matron. She desired to see my children, adding, "So excellent a mother must have brought you charming children." She then spoke of my writings. "How much good might you do," said she, "would you but write in the cause of religion!"

The prospect now seemed to brighten, and a happy futurity to approach. My wife received more honour and attention, while she remained at Vienna, than many of the first ladies of the city.

We departed for Zwerbach, where we lived contentedly; but, when about to return to Vienna, and solicit the restitution of a part of my lost fortune, during this momentary sunshine of the court, the great Teresa died, and all my hopes were overcast.

I forgot to relate, that, after my favourable audience, the arch duchess, Maria Anna, spoke to me in the name of the empress, and desired me to translate a religious work, written in French, by the Abbe Baudrand, into German. I replied, I should have little success in translation, but that I would obey her majesty's commands. I began my work, took passages from Baudrand, but inserted more of my own, though the censor was less fastidious in the examination of what was entitled a translation. The first volume was finished in six weeks; the empress thought it admirable. The second soon followed, and I presented this myself. She asked me if it equalled the first? I answered, I hoped it would be found more excellent. "No," said she, "I never, in my life, read a better book;" and added, she much wondered how I could write so well and so quick. I promised another volume within a month.

Before the third was ready, Teresa died, and my expectations descended with her to the grave. She continually gave orders, on her death bed, to have the writings of Baron Trenck read to her; and though her confessor well knew the injustice that had been done me, and all I had lost, yet, in these last moments, when he had the most favourable of all opportunities, he kept a dastardly silence, though he had given me his sacred promise to speak in my behalf.

The pension granted my wife by the empress, in consequence of my misfortunes, and our numerous family, we only enjoyed nine months. This she was deprived of by the new monarch, who suppressed that and various other pensions, as burthensome to the state.

After the death of the empress, I wrote to the emperor as follows:—

"Most Gracious Emperor,

"In a work printed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1772, the most essential parts of which I had the honour to present to you in 1765, in manuscript, is the following passage:

"All oppressed subjects ought, at stated hours, to have access to the throne; those who should prefer false complaints, seek to deceive, or obtain favours unmerited, ought to be made public examples, and stand mutilated in the pillory."

"I, most gracious sovereign, am the first who will pronounce judgment on myself, if I am not able to prove I have been most unjustly oppressed under the reign of the great Maria Teresa, and deprived of an immense property by unjust judges, and men in power: I, therefore, humbly pray a judge may be appointed, before whom I may be permitted to produce my proofs."

"I am gracious monarch,

"Your ever faithful subject,

"TRENCK."

In vain did I hope an answer : my petition remained unnoticed, unregarded.

The emperor thought proper to collect the legacies and moneys bestowed on hospitals into one fund. The system was wise and good. My cousin Trenck had bequeathed thirty-six thousand florins to an hospital for the poor of Bavaria, who had been ruined by him and his Pandours. This I showed he had no right to do, having deducted the sum from the family estates ; I, therefore, petitioned the emperor, that these thirty-six thousand florins might be restored, as, by right, they ought, to me and my children, who were the people whom Trenck had made poor indeed : nothing of the property of his acquiring having been left to pay this legacy, but, on the contrary, the money having been violently exacted from mine.

Alas ! the memorial came before those who were ill-informed of the truth, or deemed the inquiry too laborious. In a few days it was determined I should be answered in the same tone, in which, for six-and-thirty years past, all my petitions and remonstrances had been answered : " the request of the petitioner cannot be granted."

Fortune, my irreconcilable enemy, persecuted me even in my retreat. Within six years, two destructive hail storms swept away my crops ; one year was a misgrowth ; there were seven floods ; a rot among my sheep ; all possible calamities befell me and my manor.

The unfortunate, miserable peasants had nothing ; therefore, could pay nothing : I, on the contrary, was obliged to advance them money. My sons assisted me, and we laboured with our own hands. My wife, accustomed to the affluence of the great world, anxious to fulfil the duties of a mother, and an excellent woman, took care of eight children without so much as the help of a maid. We lived in poverty and wretchedness, obliged to earn our daily bread by the sweat of

the brow; and, had the emperor, by chance, amidst his peregrinations, visited Zwerbach, he would have beheld the abode of industry and virtue, exerting themselves to fulfil all the duties of man, and our sufferings had, no doubt, been less severe.

The greatest of all my misfortunes was my treatment in the military court, where Zetto and Krugel were my referendaries. Zetto had clogged me with a curator, and, when the cow had no more milk to give, he began to torture me with deputations, sequestrations, administrations, and executions. Nineteen times was I obliged personally to attend in Vienna within two years, and to travel fourteen posts each time, at my own expense. This alone ate up my income. Every six years must I pay an attorney to dispute, wrangle, and quarrel in my behalf, with the curator. Their mutual squabbles filled huge rolls of writing, for all of which, I, in the conclusion, was obliged to pay. If an affair was to be expedited, I, by a third hand, was obliged to send the referendary some excellent ducats. Did he give judgment, still that judgment lay fourteen months inefficient, and, when it then appeared, the copy was false, and so was sent to the upper courts, the high referendary of which said, "I must be dislodged from Zwerbach."

They obliged me at last to purchase my naturalization. I sent to Prussia for my pedigree, where the family had been known four hundred years; the attestation of this was sent me by Count Hertzberg. Although the family of Trenck had been known four hundred years as landholders in Hungary, yet was my attorney, by order of the court, obliged to solicit the instrument called ritter-diploma, for which, under pain of execution, I must pay two thousand florins. Thus are men treated at Vienna; and this treatment I, certainly, shall not soon forget.

By degree, a Prussian nobleman is not noble in Austria! In Austria! where every lackey, every

worthless fellow can purchase a diploma, making him a knight of the empire, for twelve hundred wretched florins! where money is the only merit necessary for acquiring the title of count! where such men as P—— and Grassalkowitz have purchased the dignity of *Prince*.

Tortured by courts, terrified by hail storms, I determined to depend on the productions of my pen, and to publish a collection of my works in eight volumes, and this history of my life.

Fourteen months accomplished this purpose. My labours found a favourable reception through all Germany, procured me money, esteem, and honour; and I will now no more struggle through my few remaining years under the burthen of law-suits, curators, referendaries, attorneys, courts of justice, and the unworthy in authority.

On the 22d of August, 1786, the news arrived, that Frederick the Great had left this world!

The present reigning monarch, the best among the friends of men, the witness of my sufferings in my native country, immediately sent me a royal passport for Berlin. The confiscation of my estates was annulled, and my deceased brother, in Prussia, had left my children his heirs!

I journey, with the Imperial permission, back to my country, from which I have been two-and-forty years expelled! I journey, not as a pardoned malefactor, but as a man whose innocence has been established by the whole tenor of his actions, has been proved in his writings, and who is journeying to receive his reward!

Safe am I arrived in haven, a weatherbeaten, but experienced shipman, enabled to indicate the hidden rocks and quicksands of life's perturbed shores; often have I struck, often been wrecked, but never foundered.

Let the wise and benevolent reader grant me com-

passion, and, by my example, avoid much of that misery in which too much rashness, or too little caution, has involved me.

He, whose untimely ambition impels him to undertakings beyond his strength; he, who concerns himself with affairs not properly his own; he who erects himself into a reformer of this world's abuses, will be the martyr of virtue, or, perhaps, the dupe of folly, and, after having lived persecuted, may even have the fortune to die despised.

I conclude this part of my history on the evening preceding my journey to Berlin.

* * * * *

This journey I cheerfully prepared to undertake; but my ever envious fate threw me on the bed of sickness, insomuch that small hope remained I ever should again behold the country of my forefathers, or outlive the moment which I had been twenty years in anxious expectation of beholding.

A variety of obstacles overcome, I found it necessary first to take a journey into Hungary, which was one of the most vivifying and pleasant of my whole life.

I left Vienna on the 5th of January, and came to Prague. Here I found nearly the same reception as in Hungary: my writings had been universally read. Citizens, noblemen, and noble ladies, treated me with like favour, like friendship.

I reluctantly bade adieu to Prague, and continued my journey to Berlin. Here, in Bohemia, I took leave of my son, a lieutenant in the second regiment of carabiniers, who saw his gray-headed father and two brothers, destined for the Prussian service, depart. He felt the full weight of this separation. I reminded him of his duty to the state he served; also of the fearful fate of his uncle and father in Austria, and of the possessors of our vast estates in Hungary. He shrank back; a look from his father pierced him to the soul—tears stood in his eyes—his youthful blood flowed

quick—and the following expressions burst suddenly from his lips: “I call God to witness, I will prove myself worthy of my father’s name, and that, while I live, his enemies shall be mine.”

What are the feelings of a father, who, in his son, embraces his friend? His brothers wept, nor could I retain my tears!

At Peterswalde, on the road to Dresden, my carriage broke down; my life was endangered, and my son received a contusion in his arm. The erysipelas broke out on him at Berlin, and I could not present him to the king during a month after my arrival.

Not many days passed, before I was presented at court, by the Prussian chamberlain, Prince Sacken; as it is not customary at Berlin for a foreign subject to be presented by the minister of his own court. Though a Prussian subject, I wore the Imperial uniform.

The king received me with remarkable condescension; all eyes were directed towards me, each person took me by the hand, and each welcomed me to my country. This moved me the more, by being remarked by the foreign ministers, who asked, with surprise, who that Austrian officer could be, who was received with so much affection, and such evident joy, in Berlin. The gracious monarch himself gave tokens of a nobler pleasure at beholding me thus surrounded.

Having been introduced at court, I thought it necessary to observe customary ceremonies, and was presented by the Imperial ambassador, Prince Reuss, to all foreign ministers, and such families as are in the routine of admitting like visits. I was received by the prince royal, the reigning queen, the queen dowager, and the whole royal family, in their various palaces, with esteem and favour never to be forgotten. His royal highness, Prince Henry, the well known partaker of his brother’s glory, invited me to a private audience, continued long in conversation with me,

testified the utmost compassion at what I had undergone, promised me his future protection, admitted me to his private concerts, and made me stay and sup at court.

A like reception I met in the palace of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, where I frequently dined and supped. His princess took delight in hearing my narratives, and in my knowledge of men and manners, and loaded me with favours.

The pleasure I received at Berlin was great indeed. When I went to court, the honest citizens crowded to see me, and when any one among them said, "That is Trenck," the rest would cry, "Welcome once more to your country!" while many would reach me their hands, with the tears standing in their eyes. Frequent were the scenes I experienced of this kind. No pardoned malefactors would have been so received—O, no! It was the sweet reward of innocence: this reward was fully bestowed throughout the Prussian territories.

Some days after I had been presented to the king, and supped with the queen, I entreated a private audience, and, on the 12th of February, received the following letter:

"In answer to your letter on the 9th of this month, which has been given me, I *gladly* inform you, that, if you will come to me after dinner to-morrow, at five o'clock, I shall have *the pleasure* to see and speak with you: mean time I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Berlin, Feb. 12, 1787.

"P. S. After signing the above, I find it more convenient to appoint to-morrow, at nine in the morning, about which time you will come into the apartment named marmor kammer" (marble chamber.)

The anxiety with which I expected this wished-for interview may well be conceived. I found the Prussian Titus alone, and he continued in conversation with me more than an hour.

How condescending, how kind was the monarch! how great! how nobly did he console me for the past! How entirely did his assurance of favour overpower my whole soul! He had read the history of my life. When prince of Prussia, he had been an eye-witness, in Magdeburg, of my martyrdom, and my attempts to escape. Many circumstances he recollected himself, and he inquired of those who had been present, and who confirmed the truth of my narrative, and the severity of my calamities. Long shall I remember these fortunate moments: yet these are fled. His majesty parted from me with tokens of confirmed esteem and condescension. My eyes bade adieu, but my heart remained in the marble chamber in company with a prince capable of sensations so dignified; and my wishes for his welfare are eternal.

He sent for me a second time, conversed much with me, and confirmed those ideas which my first interview had inspired; and I am fully convinced I have not mistaken his character.

On the 11th of March, at another private audience, I presented my son, whom I intended for the Prussian service. The king immediately bestowed on him a commission in the Posadowaky dragoons, at my special request. The difficulty of obtaining such a commission, without having first served as an ensign, is well known; this was, therefore, a particular favour and honour, and my son has the more to expect, since his majesty himself has promised his promotion.

I saw him at the review at Velau, and his superior officers formed great expectations from his zeal. Thus I have done the duty of a father by my sons: time will discover whether he in the Austrian, or this in the

Prussian service, will first obtain rewards due to their father; and to this state will I bequeath my third son. Should they both remain unnoticed, I will bestow him on the Grand Turk, rather than on European courts, whence justice to me and mine is banished.

Since I have been at Berlin, and received there with so many testimonies of friendship and favour, the newspapers of Germany have published various articles concerning me, perhaps with the best of wishes, intending to contribute to my honour or ease. They have, however, been sometimes misinformed. They have asserted a great pension has been settled on me at Berlin; but, on my honour, I affirm I never asked a pension. They have said my eldest daughter is appointed governess of the young princess. This, perhaps, has been the joke of some witty correspondent; for my eldest daughter is but fifteen, and stands in need of a governess herself. Perhaps they may suppose me mean enough, from ostentation, to circulate falsehood; perhaps they suppose they do me service, or give me pleasure, by publishing, as facts, honours or rewards, for which I hope. It may be malice, and a desire to injure me; it may be the very reverse; in either case, it is no pleasure to me, and may have ill effects. An honest man is never without his enemies, who will labour to prevent any good that might happen to him, and who are terrified if they imagine he might become the favourite of a king.

I almost daily receive letters from all parts of Germany, from persons unknown to me, wherein the sensations of the feeling heart are evident. The history of my life has excited a general attention. Those reviewers, who have been impartial, have my thanks; those who suspect my veracity, or endeavour to decry my work, must be answered by an appeal to facts. That my history relates many improbable events, and

rather resembles a romance, than a work of biography, is not my fault; extraordinary accidents I have encountered, and extraordinary accidents I must relate.

I met at Berlin many old friends of both sexes: among others, an aged invalid came to see me, who was at Glatz, in 1746, when I cut my way through the guard. He was one of the sentinels before my door, and whom I had thrown down the stairs.

Another invalid, who had assisted me, when imprisoned at Magdeburg, in ridding myself of my bags of sand, came also to visit me.

The hour of quitting Berlin, and continuing my journey into Prussia, towards Königsberg, my native country, approached. On the eve of my departure, I had once again the happiness of conversing, more than two hours, with her royal highness the Princess Amelia, sister of Frederick the Great. Possessed of native goodness of mind and deep penetration, she solely had the honour of gaining the entire confidence and friendship of Frederick. She, as far as she was able, protected me in my hour of extreme adversity; heaped benefits upon me, and, more than any other person in the world, contributed to gain my deliverance. Not as a foreign officer did she receive me during my stay in Berlin, but as a friend, as an aged patriot; laid her commands upon me to write immediately to my wife, and request she would come to Berlin in the month of June, with her two eldest daughters. Her promise I received, that the happiness of the latter should be her care; nay, that she would certainly remember my wife in her will.

At this moment, when about to depart, she affectionately asked me if I had money sufficient for the expenses of my journey. "Yes, madam," was my reply; "for myself I want nothing, nothing ask; but may you remember my children!"

The sensibility, the deep feeling with which I pronounced these words, moved the princess; she showed me how perfectly she comprehended my meaning, took me by the hand, and said, "Return, my friend, quickly; I shall be most happy to see you."

I hastily left the room; a kind of indecision came over me. I was inclined to remain some days longer at Berlin. Had I done so, my presence would, most indubitably, have been of great advantage to my children. Alas! ever under the guidance of my evil genius, I began my journey. The clear prospect of futurity was instantly overclouded; the principal purpose for which I came to Berlin frustrated; for, five days after my departure, the Princess Amelia died!

On the 22d of March I departed from Berlin, and pursued my journey to Königsberg, but remained two days at the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg Schwedt, where I was received with kindness and esteem. The margrave had bestowed favours on me during my imprisonment at Magdeburg.

I departed thence through Soldin to Schildberg, there to visit my relation, Sidau, who had married the daughter of my sister, which daughter my sister had by her first husband. I found my kinsman a worthy and honourable man, and one who made the daughter of an unfortunate sister happy. I was received at his house with open arms; and, for the first time during an interval of two-and-forty years, beheld one of my own relations.

On my journey thither, I had the unexpected pleasure to meet with Lieutenant General Kowalsky. This good gentleman was a lieutenant in the garrison of Glatz in the year 1746, and was an ocular witness when I leaped from the wall of the rampart. He had read my history, with some of the principal facts of which he was previously acquainted. Should any one, therefore, doubt concerning those incidents which I

have related of my escape from Glatz, and which, because of the difficulties attending their execution, have been; by some, incapable themselves of a like enterprise, supposed incredible. I may refer them to him, whose testimony cannot be suspected.

From Schildberg I proceeded to Landsberg, on the Warta. Here I found my brother-in-law, Colonel Pape, commander of the Gotz dragoons, and the second husband of my deceased sister; and here passed a joyous day. Every body congratulated me on my glorious return into my country, and offered up their ardent prayers for my future felicity.

I found relations in almost every garrison, and was almost every where detained. Never did man receive more honourable marks of esteem throughout a kingdom. The general knowledge of my unmerited calamities procured me, this sweet consolation; and I were insensible indeed, and ungrateful, did my heart remain unmoved on occasions like these.

I shall here insert an incident which I omitted in its proper place, lest I should have fatigued my readers by a too circumstantial recital of my various attempts to escape from prison, at Magdeburg. It was my last attempt but one at flight. The circumstances were these:

As I found myself unable to get rid of more sand, after having once again cut through the planking, and mined the foundation, I made a hole towards the fosse or ditch, in which three sentinels were stationed. This I executed one stormy night, it being easy, from the lightness of the sand, to perform the work in two hours.

No sooner had I broken through, than I silently drew back the sand within the hole, and threw one of my slippers beside the palisades, that it might be supposed I had lost it when climbing over them. These pal-

isadoes, twelve feet in height, were situated in the front of the principal fosse, and my sentinels stood within. There was no sentry-box at the place where I had broken through.

This done, I returned into my prison, made another hole under the planking, where I could hide myself, and stopped up the passage behind me, so that it was not probable I could be seen or found. When daylight came, the sentinel saw the hole, gave the alarm—the officer ran terrified, the slipper was found, and it was concluded that Trenck had fortunately escaped over the palisadoes, and was no longer in prison.

Immediately the sub-governor came from Magdeburg, the alarm guns were fired, the horse scoured the country, and the fortification and subterranean passages were all visited; no tidings came; no discovery was made; and the conclusion was, I had certainly escaped. That I should fly without the knowledge of the sentinels was deemed impossible; the officer and all the guard were put under arrest, and every body was struck dumb with surprise.

I, in the mean time, sat quiet in my hole, where I heard their searches and suppositions that I certainly was gone. My heart bounded with joy, and I held escape to be indubitable. They most undoubtedly would not have placed sentinels over the prison the following night, and I then really should have left my place of concealment, and most probably have safely arrived in Saxony. My cruel destiny, however, robbed me of all hope, at the very moment when I supposed the greatest of my difficulties conquered.

Every thing seemed to happen as I could wish. The whole garrison came and visited the casemates, and all stood astonished at the miracle they beheld. In this state things remained till four o'clock in the afternoon. At length an ensign of the militia came, a boy of about

fifteen or sixteen years of age, a very chicken in appearance, but who had more wit than any or all of them. He approached the hole, examined the aperture next the fosse, thought it appeared very small, endeavoured to enter it himself, found he could not, therefore concluded it was impossible a man of my size could have passed through, and accordingly called for a light.

This was an incident I had not foreseen. Half stifled in my hole, I had opened the canal under the planking. No sooner had the youth procured the light, than he perceived my white shirt, examined nearer, felt about, and laid hold on me by the arm.

The fox was caught, and the laugh was universal. My chagrin and confusion may easily be imagined. They all came round me, paid me their compliments, and, finding nothing better was to be done, I laughed in company with them, and thus laughing was led back, with an aching, a distracted heart, to be sorrowfully enchained in my dungeon.

The contrivance was highly applauded by all those who wished I might effect my escape, among whom was the honourable person who desired I would here insert this anecdote.

I continued my journey, and arrived, on the fourth of April, at Königsberg, where my brother impatiently expected my arrival. We embraced as brothers must, after an absence of two-and-forty years. Of all my brothers and sisters I had left in this city, he only remained. He lived a retired and peaceable life, on his own estates, fulfilling all the duties of a man. He had no children living. I continued a fortnight in company with him and his worthy wife, at Königsberg, with infinite satisfaction of heart, and afterwards went

with him to his country seat, where I staid six weeks.

Here I, for the first time, learnt what had happened to my relations during my absence. The wrath of the great Frederick extended itself to all my family. My second brother was an ensign in the regiment of cuirassiers at Kiow, in the year 1746, when I first incurred disgrace from the king. Six years he served, fought at three battles, but, because his name was Trenck, never was promoted. Weary of expectations, he at length quitted the army, married, and lived on his estate at Meicken, where he died, about three years ago, and left two sons, who are an honour to the family of the Trencks.

Common fame spoke him a person capable of rendering the state essential service, as a military man, in the profession he had chosen ; but he was my brother, and the king would never suffer his name to be mentioned.

My youngest brother applied himself to the sciences. It was proposed that he should receive some civil employment, as an intelligent, well meaning man : but the king answered, in the margin of the petition,

“No Trenck is good for any thing.”

Thus has all my family suffered, because of my unjust condemnation. My last mentioned brother chose the life of a private man, and lived at his ease, in estimation and independence, among the first people of the kingdom.

The hatred of the monarch extended itself to my sister, who had married the son of General Waldow, and lived in widowhood, from the year 1749, to her second marriage. The misfortunes of this excellent woman, in consequence of the treachery of Weingarten, and the aid she sent to me in my prison at Magdeburg, I have before related. She was possessed of the fine estate of Hammer, near Landsberg, on the Warta.

The Russian army changed the whole face of the country, and laid it desert. She fled, with what effects she could, to Custrin, where every thing likewise was burnt and destroyed during the siege. The Prussian army demolished the fine forests.

After the war, the king assisted all the ruined families of Brandenburg: she alone obtained nothing because she was my sister. She petitioned the king, who replied, she must seek for redress from her dear brother.

She died, in the flower of her age, a short time after she had married her second husband, Colonel Pape: her son, also, died last year. He was captain in the regiment of the Gotz dragoons.

Thus were all my brothers and sisters punished, because they were mine.

Reader, if thou hast noble thoughts, rejoice with me, and, from my history, learn, that evil itself may convert to good. In the nineteenth year of my age, I lost my fortune, my liberty, my all, honour and fortitude excepted, and these it was not in the power of the despot to take. Two-and-forty years have I lived deprived of my property, two-and-forty years endured poverty, and even excessive indigence, with the exception of some few intervals, without ever being guilty of meanness, and, in the moment of good fortune, I have been liberal even to prodigality. I often have been deceived, but never was a deceiver. Those who plundered me blush at my name. I walk proudly even in the presence of kings. I write truths without disguise, and my writings find toleration and privilege. I was despised, condemned, and rejected, yet obtained, even in the dungeon's depths, than which no man could descend lower, the general esteem and approbation of the worthy.

Thou, great God, hast preserved me amidst my trouble! The purest gratitude penetrates my heart. O

that it might please thee never to let mortal endure what I have endured, or that thou wouldst grant him equal strength to wrestle with woe! May this, my tragical narration, be a lesson to the afflicted, afford hope to the despairing, fortitude to the wavering, and shake and humanize the hearts of kings!

HISTORY

OF

FRANCIS BARON TRENCK,

A PARTISAN COLONEL, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF
OF THE PANDOURS IN THE SERVICE OF HER
MAJESTY THE EMPRESS-QUEEN.

WRITTEN BY

FREDERICK BARON TRENCK,

AS A NECESSARY SUPPLEMENT TO HIS OWN HISTORY.

FRANCIS BARON TRENCK was born, in 1714, in Calabria, a province of Sicily. His father was then a governor, and a lieutenant colonel there, and died possessed of these honours in 1743, at Leitscha, in Hungary, lord of the rich manors of Prestowacz, Pleternitz, and Pakratz, in Slavonia, and other considerable estates in Hungary. His christian name was John; he was my father's brother.

Francis Baron Trenck was his only son; he had attained the rank of colonel during his father's life, and served with distinction in the army of Maria Teresa.

His father, a bold and daring soldier, idolizing his only son, and superlatively avaricious, wholly neglected his education, so that the passions of this son were most unbridled. Endowed by nature with very

extraordinary talents, the heir of a rich father, this ardent youth was early his own master, and allowed to indulge the impetuous fire of his constitution. Moderation was ever utterly unknown to him, and good fortune most remarkably favoured all his enterprises. These were numerous, undertaken from no principle of virtue, nor actuated by any motives of humanity. The love of money, and the desire of fame, were the passions of his soul. All his wishes were successful, therefore were all his wishes indulged. To his warlike inclination was added the insensibility of a heart natively wicked; and he found himself an actor, on the great scene of life, at a time when the earth was drenched with human gore, and when the sword decided the fate of nations: hence this chief of Pandours, this scourge of the unprotected, naturally became an iron-hearted enemy, a ferocious foe of the human race, a formidable enemy in private life, and a perfidious friend.

Constitutionally choleric and sanguinary, addicted to voluptuous pleasures, sensual and brave, he was unappeasable when affronted, prompt to act, in the moment of danger circumspect, and when under the dominion of anger, inhuman and cruel even to fury; irreconcilable, artful, fertile in invention, and ever intent on great projects.

When youth and beauty inspired love, he then became supple, insinuating, amiable, gentle, respectful, yet, ever excited by pride unceasingly to pursue his purpose, each conquest gave but new desires of adding another slave over whom he might domineer; and, whenever he encountered unshaken resistance, he even then ceased to be avaricious. A prudent and intelligent woman, turning this part of his character to advantage, might have formed this very singular man to virtue, probity, and the love of the human race; but from his most tender infancy, his will had never suffered restraint, and he thought nothing impossible.

As a soldier, he was bold even to temerity ; capable of the most hazardous enterprise, and of laughing at the danger himself provoked. His ambitious projects were the more elevated, because the end of all his actions were the acquirement of renown. In council he was dangerous ; every thing must cede to his views. To him the means by which his end was to be obtained were indifferent. Woe to the wretch who hoped to excite his compassion by submission and prayer !

The Croats at this time were undisciplined, prone to rapine, thirsting for human blood, and only taught obedience by violence and blows ; these had been the companions of his infancy ; these he undertook to subject, by servitude and fear, to military subordination, and, from banditti, to make them soldiers. His habitual intercourse with such a species of men, gave him that fierceness of character, which has been so often remarked in tyrants.

With respect to his exterior, nature had been prodigal of her favours. His height was six feet three inches, and, though his stature was gigantic, the symmetry of his limbs was exact ; his form was upright, his countenance was agreeable, yet masculine, and his strength almost incredible. He could sever the head from the body of the largest ox, with one stroke of his sabre, and he was so adroit at this Turkish practice, that he at length could behead men as if he were cleaving turnips. In the latter years of his life, his aspect was become terrible, because that, during the Bavarian war, he had been scorched by the explosion of a powder-barrel, and his face remained scarred and impregnated with black spots.

In company he rendered himself exceedingly agreeable, spoke seven languages fluently, was jocular, possessed wit, and, in a serious conversation, understanding : had learned music, sung with taste, and had a good voice, so that he might be well paid as an actor,

had that been his fate. He could even when disposed become gentle and complaisant ; but, wherever he could command, he was a monster.

His look told the man of observation that he was cunning and choleric ; and his wrath was terrible. He was ever suspicious, because he judged others by himself. Self-interest and avarice ever constituted his ruling passion, and, whenever he had an opportunity of increasing his wealth, he equally disregarded the duties of religion, the ties of honour, and human pity. In the thirty-first year of his age, when he was possessed of nearly two millions, he did not expend a florin per day, so that he even denied himself necessaries.

As he and his Pandours always led the van, and he thence had the opportunity to ravage the enemies' country, at the head of troops so addicted to rapine, we must not wonder that Bavaria, Silesia, and Alsatia, were so plundered. He alone purchased the booty from his troops, at a low price, and this he sent by water to his own estates. If any one of his officers made a rich capture, Trenck instantly became his enemy. He was sent on every dangerous expedition, till he fell, and the colonel became his universal heir, for Trenck appropriated all he could to himself.

He was reputed to be a man most expert in military science, an excellent engineer, and to possess an exact eye for estimating heights and distances. Hence he had the first advantage that a partisan leader can enjoy,—that of being perfectly acquainted with the country in which the war is carried on. In all enterprises he was the first ; inured to fatigue, his iron body could support it without inconvenience. Nothing escaped his vigilance ; all was turned to account, and what valour could not accomplish, cunning supplied. His pride suffered him not to incur an obligation, and thus was he by principle unthankful ; his actions all centred in self, and, as he was remarkably fortunate in what ever he undertook, he ascribed even that which acci-

dent gave, to foresight and genius. Depending thus on himself, he was incapable of seeking, valuing, or maintaining friendship; therefore was abandoned, when he most needed the firm support of friendship.

Yet was he ever, as an officer, a most useful and inestimable man to the state. His love and respect for his sovereign, and his zeal in her service, were unbounded; wherever her glory was at stake, he would willingly have devoted himself her victim. This I assert to be truth: I probed his heart, and knew him well.

He had the honour first to form, and command, regular troops, raised in Sclavonia. The soldiers acquired glory under their leader, and sustained the tottering power of Austria; they made libations of their blood in its defence, as did Trenck, in various battles. He served like a brave warrior, with zeal, loyalty and effect.

The vile persecutions of his enemies, at Vienna, with whom he refused to share the plunder, he had made, lost him honour, liberty, and not only the personal property he had acquired, but likewise the family patrimony, in Hungary. He died like a malefactor, illegally sentenced, in imprisonment; and knaves have affirmed, and fools have believed, and believe still, he took the king of Prussia prisoner, and that he granted him freedom, in consequence of a bribe. So have loyal Hungarians been led to suppose that a Hungarian had really been a traitor.

Trenck, the father, was a miser, past service, yet a well meaning man. Trenck, the son, on the contrary, was a youthful soldier, turbulent and hot, who stood in need of money to indulge his pleasures. Many curious pranks he played, when an ensign in I know not what regiment of foot.

He went to one of the collectors of his father's rents, and demanded money; the collector refused to give him any, and Trenck cleaved his skull with his sabre.

A prosecution was commenced against him, but, war breaking out, in 1736, between the Russians and the Turks, he, with the permission of the court of Vienna, raised a squadron of hussars, and went with it into the Russian service, contrary to the will of his father.

In this war he distinguished himself highly, and acquired the protection of Field-marshal Munich. He was so successful, and so daring, as a partisan leader against the Tartars, that he became very famous in the army, and, at the end of the campaign, was appointed major.

It happened, on the same occasion, that flying parties of Turks approached the front of his regiment, when on the march, and Trenck, seeing a favourable moment for attacking them, went to Colonel Rumin, desiring that the regiment might be led to the charge, and that they might profit by so fair an opportunity. The timid colonel answered, "I have no such orders." Trenck then demanded permission to charge the Turks only with his own squadron; but this was refused. He immediately became furious, for he had never been acquainted with contradiction or subordination, and cried aloud to the soldiers, "If there be one brave man among you, let him follow me." About two hundred immediately stepped from the ranks; he put himself at their head, routed the enemy, made a horrible carnage, and returned intoxicated with joy, accompanied by prisoners, and loaded with dismembered heads.

Once more arrived in presence of the regiment, he attacked the colonel, treated him like the rankest coward, called him opprobrious names, and beat him, without the other daring to make the least resistance.

The adventure, however, became known; Trenck was arrested, and ordered to be tried.

His judges condemned him to be shot—and the day was appointed—but, the evening before execution, Field-marshal Munich passed, either by chance or design, near the tent in which he was confined. Trenck

saw him, came forward, and said, "Certainly your excellency will not suffer a foreign cavalier to die an ignominious death because he has chastised a cowardly Russian? If I must die, at least give me permission to saddle my horse, and, with my sabre in my hand, let me fall surrounded by the enemy."

The Tartars happened to be at this time harassing the advanced posts; the field-marshal shrugged his shoulders, and was silent. Trenck, still not discouraged, added, "I will undertake to bring your excellency three heads, or lose my own. Will you, if I do, be pleased to grant me my pardon?" The field-marshal replied, "Yes." The horse of Trenck was immediately brought; he galloped to the enemy, and returned singly with four heads knotted to his horse's mane, himself only slightly wounded in the shoulder.

Munich embraced him, and immediately appointed him to be a major in another regiment.

Various and almost incredible were his feats; among others, a Tartar had run him through the belly with his lance; Trenck grasped the projecting end with his hands, exerted his prodigious strength, broke the lance, set spurs to his horse, and happily escaped. Of this wound, dreadful as it was, he was soon cured.

During this campaign, he behaved with great honour, was wounded by an arrow in the calf of the leg, and gained the affection of the field-marshal, Munich, but excited the envy of the Russians. Towards the conclusion of the war he had a new misfortune; his regiment was on the march, and incommoded on all sides by the enemy; he entreated his colonel, for the love of God, to permit him to attack them; the colonel was once more a Russian, and he refused. Trenck gave him a blow, and called aloud to the soldiers to follow him. They, however, being Russians, remained motionless, and he was put under arrest.

The court-martial sentenced him to death, and all hope of reprieve seemed over. The general would wil-

lingly have granted his pardon, but, as he was himself a foreigner, he was fearful of offending the Russians by such partiality, they having begun to murmur.

The day of execution came, and he was led to the place of death. Munich, however, so contrived it that Field-marshal Lowenthal should pass by at this moment in company with his lady. Trenck profited by the opportunity, spoke boldly, and prevailed. A reprieve was requested, and the sentence was changed into banishment and labour in Siberia.

Trenck protested against this sentence. The field-marshal wrote to Petersburg, and an order came that he should be broken, and conducted out of the Russian territories. This order was accordingly executed, and he returned into Hungary to his father.

At this period he espoused the daughter of the Field-marshal Baron Tillier, of one of the first families in Switzerland.

The two brothers of his wife, each, became lieutenant-generals, one of whom died honourably during the seven years' war, and particularly favoured by his sovereign. The other was made commander general in Croatia, where he is still living, and at the head of a regiment of infantry that bears his name.

Trenck did not long live with his lady. She was pregnant, and his diversions being ever consonant to his unruly temperament, he took her to hunt with him in a marsh, whence she returned ill, being unaccustomed to such exercise, and died without leaving him an heir.

Warlike inclinations would not long permit him to remain idle. Having no opportunity to indulge these, because of the general peace, he conceived a project of extirpating the Slavonian banditti.

The title of their chiefs was Harum-Bashaw; and they were elected from among the strongest, the most intelligent, and the boldest men of the nation. So se-

vere were their laws, that the smallest fault was punished by strangling the culprit.

If any one of their comrades had been betrayed, there is no example that they ever so much as spared the infant, even in its mother's womb.

Their vengeance was unlimited ; and if by chance the whole band were defeated with slaughter, in such kind of attempts, the new Harum Bashaw of their successors was bound to carry fire and sword where his predecessor had fallen.

In effect, they were true partisans ; maintained spies in Turkey, and occasionally fell upon the Turkish banditti, taking from them their booty, and plundering and assassinating the caravans of merchants. Therefore they spread universal terror through the country ; no one durst expose himself to their enmity ; and all the landholders paid them a small contribution, that they might protect them from the incursions of the Turkish banditti. These their tributaries, and their vassals under them, lived tranquil and in full security, for it was a law, among the Sclavonian banditti, never to forfeit their word.

Each Harum-Bashaw had a stipulated number of men, and when any one of them died, all the youths, most adroit and renowned for their feats, became candidates for the vacant place, because that these banditti lived in abundance, and were not obliged to work.

They freely traversed all the country armed, and well known by their large rings and buttons of silver. When government thought proper to pursue and attack them, and they were obliged to encounter the regulars, they generally had the advantage, and could take shelter, when attacked, in their vast forests, with the paths and thickets of which they were all acquainted. At such times they became a great nuisance to the neighbouring hamlets, which they pillaged at pleasure.

Trenck therefore began his military exploits anew against this singular race of men. To execute this enterprise, he employed his own vassals and Pandours. He was afterwards assisted by a detachment of regulars, having promised the court of Vienna, that he would totally destroy these banditti. The bloody contest now commenced—men were racked and impaled, and it may perhaps be safely affirmed that more activity, precaution, and courage, were necessary to ensure success in such a kind of war, than to lead a great army to the field of battle.

Trenck seemed born for this murderous trade. Day and night on the watch, he chased them like wild beasts, by tracing their footsteps; killing now one, and then another, and treating them undistinguishedly with the utmost barbarity. Father and son alike must bleed; nor was he himself a moment certain he should not fall into their hands, or be betrayed by his own soldiers.

Two incidents, which I shall here relate, will sufficiently paint the character of this unaccountable man. He had impaled alive the father of a Harum-Bashaw. One evening he was going on patrol, along the banks of a brook, which separated two provinces; on the opposite shore was the son of this impaled father, with his Croats: it was moon light, and the latter called aloud:

"I hear thy voice, Trenck! Thou hast impaled my father! thou persecutest us like a rascal, with craft and cruelty. If thou hast a heart in thy body, come hither over the bridge; I will send away my followers; leave thy fire arms, come only with thy sabre, and we will then see who shall remain the victor."

The agreement was made, and the Harum-Bashaw sent away his Croats, and laid down his musket. Trenck passed the wooden bridge; both drew their sabres; but Trenck treacherously killed his adversary

with a pistol that he had concealed, after which he severed his head from his body, took it with him, and stuck it upon a pole.

One day, when he was hunting, he heard music in a lone house, which belonged to one of his vassals. He was thirsty, entered, and found the guests seated at table. He set himself down, and ate with them, not knowing that this very house was a place of rendezvous for the banditti.

As he was seated opposite the door, at a long, narrow table, he saw two Harum-Bashaws armed, and of a gigantic stature, enter. His musket stood in a corner; he was struck with terror; but one of the banditti addressed him thus:

"Neither thee nor thy vassals, Trenck, have we ever injured, yet dost thou pursue us with unexampled cruelty. We think more nobly. Eat thy fill: we could nail thee to the wall; but fear nothing. When thou hast satisfied thy hunger, we will then, sabre in hand, see who has most justice on his side, and whether thou art as courageous and invincible as men speak thee."

Hereupon they set themselves down opposite him at the table, and began to eat, and drink, and make merriment. The situation of Trenck could not be very pleasant. He recollected that, besides these two, there might be more of their companions without ready to fall upon him; he therefore privately drew his pistols from his pocket, held them under the table while he cocked them, presented each hand to the body of a Harum-Bashaw, fired them both at the same instant, overset the table on the other guests, and safely escaped from the house. As he went he had time to seize on one of their muskets, which was standing at the door. One of the Croats was left weltering in his blood: the other disengaged himself from the table, and ran like a man frantic after Trenck, who suffered him to approach, killed him with his own gun, struck off his head, and brought it home in triumph.

authorized to take whatever they pleased in an enemy's country; a banditti that had so often deserved the gallows, that had never known military subordination. Let such men be suddenly led to the field, and opposed to regular troops. That they are never acted upon by a principle of honour is evident; their leader, therefore, is obliged to excite their avidity by the hope of plunder, thus to engage them to action; for if they perceive no personal advantage, the command of the chief, or the interest of the sovereign, are wholly insufficient to make them act. Turks may be led to battle from such motives, but not the artful Slavonian, who flies danger, where nothing is to be gained.

Trenck had, likewise, need of a particular species of officers. They, like their chief, must at once be daring, yet cautious. They were partisans, and must therefore be more capable of supporting fatigue than any regular troops; more desirous of daily seeking the enemy, and hazarding their lives. Few are to be found who have the inclination and the qualities requisite for so dangerous a trade; and, when such forces first are raised, the first who present themselves are necessarily accepted.

As he was himself never absent at the time of action, he soon became acquainted with the character of those whom he called on. women, and sent them from his regiment, without any other process than his own command, when he learned that any one among them had hidden himself in a ditch, or had not run to the assault at the head of his Pandours. The number of officers so discharged, increased, they all repaired to Vienna, vented their complaints, and were heard.

Envious of his good fortune, the enemies of Trenck were on the watch. His own avarice prevented his making any division of his rich booty with those gentlemen who constituted the military courts, thereby neglecting what was customary at Vienna; hence originated the prosecution to which he fell a victim.

Scarcely had he entered Austria, with his Slave-

nian troops, before he found an opportunity of gathering laurels. The French army was defeated at Lintz. Trenck every where pursued them, treated his prisoners with barbarity ; and, never granting quarter in battle, the very appearance of his Pandours inspired terror. Their cruelties, their irresistible attacks, and these artful stratagems they had learnt in their thievish apprenticeship, were productive of effects equally dreadful and unforeseen.

Trenck was prudent, vigilant, a great warrior, and knew how to profit by the slightest advantage. From this time, he became known and renowned, gained the confidence of Prince Charles, and the particular esteem of the field-marshal, Count Kevenhuller, who had penetration to discover the worth of the man, and to turn the talents he possessed to advantage. No partisan had ever before obtained so much power as Trenck ; he every where preceded the army, and pursued the enemy as far as Bavaria, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. The state reaped the advantages of conquest, and the Pandours of plunder, by the hope of which alone they were actuated, and, under a leader so proper for themselves, acted wonders.

Bavaria was laid waste. Prince Charles granted Trenck a *carte blanche* ; and, as it was well known Trenck gave no quarter, the Bavarians and the French flew at the sight of a red mantle. Pillage and murder attended the Pandours wherever they went, and their colonel bought up all the booty they acquired.

Chamb, in particular, was a scene of dreadful and savage massacre. The city was set on fire at every corner, and the inhabitants miserably perished in the flames ; those women and children who endeavoured to fly were obliged to pass over a bridge, where they were first stripped, and afterwards thrown into the water. This action was one of the accusations brought against Trenck when he was persecuted ; but he alleged in his justification—

First, That the citizens of Chamb had cut off the hands of six Pandour prisoners, and had led them in triumph through the town.

Secondly, That the place had been taken by assault.

Thirdly, That Prince Charles had given him orders thus to act.

The banks of the Iser, at this day, reverberate groans for the barbarities of Trenck. Deckendorf and Filtzhosen felt all his fury. In the first of these towns, six hundred French capitulated, although his forces were four miles distant ; but he formed a kind of straw men, on which he put Pandour caps and cloaks, set them up as sentinels, and the garrison, intimidated and deceived by this stratagem, signed the capitulation in company only of himself, his adjutant, and some officers.

He was informed by a spy, that either at Dickendorf or Filtzhosen, I do not exactly remember which, there was a barrel, containing twenty thousand florins, concealed at the house of an apothecary. Impelled by the desire of booty, Trenck hastened to the place indicated, with a candle in his hand, searching every where, and, in his hurry, dropped a spark into a quantity of gunpowder, which happened to be there, by the explosion of which, he was dashed against the ground, and dreadfully scorched. They carried him off ; but the scars and the gunpowder, with which his skin was blackened, in consequence of this accident, rendered his countenance remarkably terrific.

The present Field-marshal Laudohn was, at that time, a lieutenant in his regiment, and happened to be at the door when his colonel was burnt. Scarcely was Trenck cured, before his spies had informed him that Laudohn had plenty of money, and that he and his friends lived merrily. Immediately he suspected that Laudohn had indubitably found the barrel of florins, and, from that moment, he persecuted this worthy man by all imaginable arts. Wherever there was danger, he sent him, at the head of some thirty men,

Against three hundred, hoping to have him cut off, and to make himself his heir.

This was so often repeated, that Laudohn began to be weary, quitted the corps, and retreated to Vienna, where, joining the crowd of accusers and enemies of Trenck, he became instrumental to his destruction. Yet is it certain, that, in the beginning, Trenck had shown a friendship for Laudohn, had given him a commission, and that this, at present, really great man learned, in the society and under the command of Trenck, his military principles.

General Tillier, whose warlike ardour is well known to the whole army, was likewise formed in this nursery of soldiers, where officers were taught activity, stratagem, and enterprise. And who are now more capable of commanding a Hungarian army than Tillier and Laudohn?

I one day said to Trenck, when he was in Vienna, embarrassed by all the difficulties of his prosecution, and when he had published a defamatory writing against all his accusers, excepting no man, "You have always told me, that Laudohn was one of the most capable of your officers, and likewise a worthy man. Wherefore then do you class him among such wretches?"

He replied, "What! would you have me praise a man who labours, at the very head of my enemies, to rob me of honour, property, and life?"

Bavaria was totally plundered by Trenck, as has been said: barges were loaded with gold, silver, and effects, which he sent to his estates in Slavonia. Prince Charles and Count Kevenhuller countenanced his proceedings; but when Field-marshal Neupreg was at the head of the army, he had other principles. He was connected with Baron Tiebes, a counsellor of the Hofkriegsrath, who was all-puissant over military men, and, consequently, was the enemy of Trenck.

Trenck, who had so happily opened the passage of the Rhine for the army, as gloriously succeeded in covering its retreat.

The history of Maria Teresa declares what were the damages he did the enemy, during the campaign of this memorable year. He gave very signal proofs of his capacity and zeal at Tabor and Budwies. With three hundred men only, he had the boldness to attack one of those towns, which was defended by the two Prussian regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz. An enterprise like this, against Prussian soldiers, sufficiently speaks the man.

He found, however, that the water in the moats of the town was deeper than his spies had declared it to be, and the scaling ladders too short; most of those led to the attack were drowned or killed in the water, and the small number that crossed the moats were made prisoners. The garrisons of Tabor and Budwies, and that of the castle of Frauenberg, were, nevertheless, induced to capitulate, and yield themselves prisoners of war, although the main body under Trenck was still more than five miles distant.

His corps did not come up till the morrow, and it was ridiculous enough to see the Pandours dressed in the caps of the Prussian fusileers and pioneers, which they wore instead of their own, and which they afterward continued to wear.

Unprejudiced persons will determine whether these were real services rendered to his empress.

The campaign, to him, was uninterruptedly glorious, and the enemy's want of light troops gave free scope to his enterprises, highly to their prejudice. His activity was incessant, and he never returned without prisoners. He passed the Elbe, near Pardubitz, took the magazines, and was, himself, the cause of the great dearth, and unheard-of desertion among the Prussians, and of that hasty retreat to which they were forced.

The king was at Colín, with his head-quarters, where I myself was with him, when Trenck attacked the town, which, I presume, he must have carried, had he not, on the first assault, been wounded by a cannon ball, which shattered his right foot. He was, therefore, taken away, and the attack did not succeed. His wound was very dangerous. The empress-queen thought proper to send him a surgeon from Vienna. The foot was obliged to be all laid open; he lost the ankle bone, and even a part of the tibia, and remained four months confined to his bed, like a furious madman; at being so long unable to assault the enemy, while his men, without him, remained but so many ciphers.

In 1745 he went to Vienna, where his entrance into the city resembled a triumph. Every body ran to see and wonder at the Pandour Trenck, and this universal applause did but the more increase the envy of his enemies. The empress-queen received him with the most honourable distinction. He appeared in her presence with crutches; she obliged him to be seated, and, by her condescending speech, inflamed his zeal even to extravagance.

Intoxicated as he was with joy, he returned to his estate, and raised eight hundred new recruits, that he might, in the following campaign, gather new laurels. He rejoined the army, obtained whatever he asked at court, and was continually active, during the whole summer, in the execution of incessant and laborious projects.

At the battle of Sorau, which was fought in September, he fell upon the Prussian camp, and, as I have before related, seized on the tent of the king and his service of plate; but he came an hour too late to attack the rear, as had been pre-concerted. The politic Frederick willingly gave up his camp to be plundered, for the rude Croats, engaged in this business, could not easily be drawn off to attack the army,

and the king was prepared to receive them, even if they should. In the mean time the Imperial army was defeated.

The enemies of Trenck publicly accused him of having made the king of Prussia a prisoner in his tent, and of afterward restoring him to liberty; that he also remained pillaging the camp, instead of attacking the rear of the army, and that he alone thus occasioned the loss of the battle. His friends informed him of what was going forward, and that the storm was gathering.

After having gloriously ended the campaign, he returned to Vienna to defend himself. Here he found, already assembled, three-and-twenty of his officers, whom he had cashiered, and expelled his regiment; most of them for either cowardice or mean actions. Perhaps, among them, there might be three or four who had just cause of complaint; but these were poor and without protection. There were, however, wicked men found, who suffered themselves to be seduced by the enemies of Trenck to bear false testimony. The military court, Counsellor Weber and General Lowenwalde, had sworn his downfall, which they effected. Their principal view was the sequestration of his property, that they might securely fish in troubled waters.

Trenck, who was innocent of any state crime, despised their attacks. While things remained thus, they posted one of the empress's female attendants, with instructions to profit by every favourable opportunity to deprive him of her confidence. Than this, nothing could be more easy. It was presently affirmed, Trenck is an atheist! A libertine! Who never tells his beads! Who never prays to the holy virgin! Who never buys indulgences!

His debauched life was the next topic; his barbarities committed in the enemies' country; the unbridled excess of his Pandours; his robberies in the

churches of Bavaria; his plunderings, and the vast riches he had accumulated; all which had been performed with an evident intention of becoming a dangerous rebel in Slavonia.

The officers whom he had broken whispered it in tap rooms and coffee-houses, that Trenck had taken and set free the king of Prussia. This was sufficient to raise the cry among the silly and fanatic mob at Vienna. Teased by their complaints, and, at the requisition of Trenck himself, the empress-queen commanded that a legal examination should be undertaken of these accusations. Field-marshal Cordova, a man of merit and probity, was chosen to preside over this committee of inquiry. He acquitted himself with impartiality, spoke the truth, and drew up a statement of the case, which he presented to the court, and which I shall here cite. "The complaints brought against him were all of a nature not to require a court-martial. Trenck had occasionally behaved improperly to some officers, whom he had broken by his own proper authority; therefore their demands ought to be satisfied, by the payment of twelve thousand florins. The remaining accusations were all the vile attempts of revenge and calumny, and were totally insufficient to detain, at Vienna, entangled in law-suits, a man so necessary to the army. Moreover, it would be prudent not to inquire too minutely into trifles, in consideration of his great services."

Trenck, dissatisfied by this sentence, and animated by avarice and pride, refused to pay a single florin, took post, and retired to his estates in Slavonia.

His presence was necessary at Vienna to obtain other advantages against his enemies, whom he despised too much, and whom he already supposed conquered. They, on the contrary, profiting by every occasion, gave the empress-queen to understand, through a third person, that, being a man excessively dangerous whenever he supposed himself injured, Trenck had

very pernicious views in Slavonia, where all were dependent on his power.

Yet what did my cousin on his estates?—He raised six hundred more men, with whom he made a glorious campaign in the Netherlands, and, in October, 1746, returned to Vienna. It is well known, that, after the peace of Dresden, his regiment was incorporated among the regulars, and served against France.

Scarcely had he arrived at Vienna, before an express order came, from the empress-queen, that he must remain under arrest in his chamber.

Here he rendered himself guilty by the most imprudent action of his whole life, which every man in his senses must disapprove, but yet which marks the intractability of his character, though it afforded new arms to his enemies.

He ordered his most sumptuous carriage and best horses, left his chamber by his own private authority, and, despising the Imperial mandate, went publicly to the theatre, where the empress-queen was present.

In one of the boxes he saw Count Gossau, in company with a quondam comrade of his own, whom he had cashiered: these honourable persons were among the foremost of his accusers. Inflamed with anger and the desire of revenge, he entered the box like a madman, seized Count Gossau, and would have thrown him into the pit, in the presence of the sovereign herself. Gossau drew his sword, and endeavoured to run him through; but the latter seized it, wounding him in the hand. Every body ran to save Gossau, who was unable to defend himself against so savage a giant. After this exploit, the grim colonel of Pandours returned foaming home.

Such an action rendered it impossible for Maria Teresa to declare herself the protectress of a man so rash. Sentinels, therefore, were placed over him, and his enemies so well profited by his imprudence and passion, that he was ordered to be tried by a court-martial.

General Lowenwalde intrigued so successfully that he procured himself to be named, by the Hofkriegsrath, president of the court-martial, and of the committee of inquiry, and to be charged with the sequestration of the property of Trenck. In vain did the latter protest against his judge. The very man, whom, the year before, he had kicked out of the anti-chamber of Prince Charles, received full power to denounce him guilty.

Then was it that, as I have before said, public notice was given that all those who would come and prefer complaints, or bear witness against Colonel Baron Trenck, should receive a ducat per day, while the council continued to sit. How quickly complaints would increase may easily be imagined. They soon amounted to fifty-four, the major part of whom merited the pillory, and who, in the space of four months, received fifteen thousand florins, deducted from the property of Trenck.

The judge himself purchased the depositions of false witnesses; and I here declare, upon my honour, that Count Lowenwalde offered me a thousand ducats if I would betray the secrets of my cousin; and that he farther promised me I should very soon be put in possession of my confiscated estates in Prussia, and have a company in a regiment.

A prosecution managed by such judges, supported by such witnesses, must, of necessity, be for the righteous purpose of obtaining justice!

I am convinced, and the acts of the revision of the process of Trenck will prove, that more than forty manifestly false oaths were on this occasion sworn.

Trenck was accused on the tenth sitting, that the battle of Sorau had been lost through his negligence. This accusation he proved to be false, by a written testimony under the hand of Prince Charles himself, who declared that the officer of artillery, sent with the order for Trenck to march to the attack, had lost himself, and that he did not arrive till a few moments before the battle began. This proof so highly irritated

Count Lowenwalde, that he broke out into injurious expressions against Prince Charles. Trenck, who loved and honoured his benefactor, became so furious that he instantly seized the president by the throat, tossed him up as a tiger would a cat, carried him to the window, which he opened, and would certainly have dashed him headlong from the fourth story, had not the persons present flew to his aid.

The guard entered, Trenck was immediately conducted to the military house of correction, and chained hand and foot as a malefactor; chained by that very foot, which, so short a time before, had been shattred in the service of his sovereign, and which was not then entirely cured. His behaviour was unfaithfully related at court; this sentence of imprisonment was confirmed, and from that time Trenck was obliged to appear fettered, like a criminal, before his enemies, to answer false accusations.

A public courtesan, the mistress of Baron Rippenda, who was a member of the court-martial, was bribed, and made oath she was the daughter of Count Schwerin, field-marshal in the Prussian service, and that she was in bed with the king of Prussia when Trenck surprised the camp at Sorau, made her and the king prisoners, and restored them their freedom. She even ventured to name Baron Hilaire, aid-de-camp to Frederick, who, she affirmed, was then present.

Hilaire, who afterward married the Baroness Tillier, and who consequently was brother-in-law to Trenck, fortunately happened to be in Vienna. He was confronted with this woman, and her falsehood became evident. That worthy gentleman was, nevertheless, obliged to remain in prison, where they secretly offered him bribes, which he refused to accept; and, as it was necessary to prevent his speaking, he continued in prison some weeks, and was not released, till, by a revision of the suit, this shameful proceeding was made public.

Count Lowenwalde invented another infernal artifice; he drew up a false indictment, having taken care

to give orders that none of Trenck's friends should have admission to him ; and, that he might be prevented all means of justification, or of discovering the deceit, he chose a day, to put it in practice, when the emperor and Prince Charles were gone to hunt at Holitzsch. Lowenwalde's court-martial had already signed a sentence of death, and every preparation for the immediate erection of a scaffold was made. His intention was then to go to the empress queen, and induce her to sign the sentence, under pretence that there was some imminent peril at hand, if a man so dangerous to the state was not immediately put out of the way, and that it would be necessary to execute the sentence of death during the night, before the emperor could return. He well knew the emperor was better acquainted with Trenck, and had ever been his protector.

As it happened, however, the valet de chambre of Count Lowenwalde, who, on some occasions, was an honest man, and who had an intimacy with a former mistress of Trenck, confided the whole secret to her. She immediately flew to Colonel Baron Lopresti, who was the sincere friend of my kinsman, and, being rich and powerful at court, was on that occasion his deliverer. The emperor and Prince Charles were informed of what was in agitation, but they thought proper to keep the secret. The hunting at Holitzsch took place on the appointed day. Count Lowenwalde made his appearance before the empress queen, and solicited her to sign the sentence. She, however, had been pre-informed, the emperor unexpectedly returned on the same day, and their abominable project proved abortive. The fraud was clearly demonstrated to Maria Teresa ; the self-called Miss Schwerin was imprisoned ; Lowenwalde was deprived of his power, as well as of the sequestration of the effects of Trenck ; a total revision of the proceedings of the court-martial, and of the prosecution of my cousin was ordered, which was an event that till then was unexampled at Vienna.

His affairs after this took another turn: Trenck was freed from his fetters, and was removed to the arsenal, where he was allowed four chambers, an officer to guard him, and every convenience he could wish. He was also permitted the use of a counsellor, and to defend his cause. I obtained myself, by the influence of the emperor, leave to visit him at all times, and to aid him in all things.

It was at this epocha that I, having recently escaped from the prison of Glatz, arrived at Vienna, and at this very instant, when the revision of the prosecution was commanded, and determined on, Count Lowenwalde, supposing me a needy, thoughtless youth, endeavoured to bribe me, and prevail on me to betray my kinsman.

Prince Charles of Lorrain then desired me seriously to represent to Trenck that his avarice had been the cause of all these troubles, he having refused to pay the paltry sum of twelve thousand florins, by which he might easily have silenced all his accusers; but that at present affairs had become so very serious, he ought himself to secure his judges for the revision of the suit; to spare no money, and then he might be certain of every protection the prince could afford.

The respectable Field-marshal Konigseck, governor of Vienna, was appointed president; but, being an old man, almost superannuated, and tormented by the gout, he was unable to preside at any one sitting of the court. Count S—— was the vice-president, a subtle, insatiable judge, who never thought he had money enough. I myself took three thousand ducats, which Baron Lopresti gave me, agreeably to the desire of Trenck, to this most worthy counsellor.

The two counsellors, Komerkansquy and Zetto, each received four thousand rix dollars in advance, with a promise of double the sum, were Trenck acquitted, and his accusers banished Austria.

The other members appointed for this revision were

of small importance; they were merely the echoes of whatever the three first pronounced.

In consequence there was a formal contract drawn up, which a certain noble lord secretly signed.

The reader will well suppose that the affairs of Trenck began to wear a much more favourable aspect. He was defended, on the criminal part of the prosecution, by the advocate Gerhauser, and on the civil by Berger.

They began with the self-appointed daughter of Marshal Schwerin; and, to conceal the iniquitous proceedings of the late court-martial, it was thought proper that she should act insanity, and return incoherent answers to the questions put by the examiners. Trenck insisted that a more severe inquiry should be instituted; and they affirmed that she had been conducted out of the Austrian territories.

Six years after this event I met with her at Brunn, when Trenck was dead. She had married a menial person, and owned she had been induced to play this part by the valet de chambre of Count Lowenwalde, from whom she received a bribe of five hundred florins.

My intention was, on my return to Brunn, to oblige her to make legal oath of this; but her husband had been guilty of a theft, and they had both absconded.

Trenck was accused that he had ordered a certain Pandour, named Paul Diack, to suffer the bastinado of a thousand blows, and that he had died under the punishment. This was sworn to by two officers, then his accusers, now great men in the army, who, in their depositions, said they were eye-witnesses of the fact.

When the revision of the suit began, Trenck sent me into Slavonia, where I found the dead Paul Diack alive and merry, and brought him to Vienna. He was examined by the court, where it appeared that the two officers who had sworn they were present when he expired, and had seen him buried, were at this time a hundred and sixty miles from the regiment, and re-

cruiting in Sclavonia. Paul Diack had been engaged in plots, and had mutinied three times. Trenck had pardoned him, as he was an extremely useful soldier, one of the banditti; but, after mutinying once more with forty others, he was condemned to death. At the place of execution he called to his colonel, "Father, if I receive a thousand blows, will you pardon me?" Trenck replied in the affirmative. He received the punishment, was taken to the hospital, cured; and on this occasion proved the perjury of the accusers of Trenck.

I brought with me fourteen more witnesses from Sclavonia, who attested the falsity of other articles of accusation, which in themselves were little worthy of attention. The cause wore a new aspect; it was impossible to substantiate any one of the criminal charges, and the wickedness of those, who were so desirous to have seen him executed, became apparent.

They also accused him of having robbed and murdered a dealer in second hand trinkets and laces, in Vienna, who was found strangled; and soon afterward the man who had committed the crime was discovered, and broken upon the wheel.

One of the most capital articles in the prosecution, and which for ever deprived him of favour or commiseration from his virtuous and apostolic mistress, and for which alone he was condemned to the Spielberg, was that he had ravished the daughter of a miller in Silesia. This was made oath of, and he was not entirely cleared of the charge in the reversion, because his accusers had excluded all means of justification. Two years, however, after his death, I likewise discovered the truth of this affair. The author of this wicked artifice was Major Manstein, one of our first cousins, on whom he had heaped favours, whom he had relieved from the deepest distress, and raised to the rank of major in his regiment, when he had only been four years in the service. This Manstein was vile

enough to accuse him of such a crime, that he might prevent his return to the regiment: his motive was, because that he, in conjunction with the quarter-master Frederici, had appropriated to their own purposes eighty-four thousand florins of the regimental money.

No sooner should Trenck be dead than he might be accused of this embezzlement. Yet it is certain that this miller's virgin was the mistress of Manstein, before she had ever been seen by Trenck. The virtuous Teresa, however, would never forgive him; and, in order to satisfy the honour of this distressed damsel, he was condemned to pay eight thousand florins to her, and fifteen thousand to the chest of the invalids, and moreover to perpetual imprisonment.

Most of the other criminal articles of accusation consisted in Trenck's having beheaded some mutinous Pandours, and broken his officers without a court-martial; that he had bought of his soldiers, and melted down, the holy vessels of the church, chalices and rosaries, and bastinadoed some priests; had not heard mass every Sunday, and had violently dragged malefactors from certain convents, in which they had taken refuge.

A partisan commander of an undisciplined corps might well be exculpated from similar complaints, and the officers whom he had caned when they retreated to the rear, and skulked from the fire of the enemy, were soon all silent when the witnesses of Trenck were allowed to appear before the court. When they were no longer protected, either by Lowenwalde or Weber, they decamped without beat of drum. They, nevertheless, did not cease to labour under the auspices of one more powerful than themselves, to pursue their purpose, which they attained by aid of the court confessor. This holy monk found means to render the holy Maria Teresa insensible of pity towards a man who had been so prodigal of his blood in her defence.

Trenck was guilty of another capital error. Elated at the expectation of certain victory, and assured by

his friends, among the judges, of being acquitted about Easter, 1748, he caused the history of his life to be printed at Frankfort, in which he not only exposed his former judges, but by certain phrases gave those, who were his partisans in the court of reversion, reason to suspect they also should be betrayed, when they were no longer useful. Gerhauser, his advocate, had in such case every thing to fear, he having been made the instrument of bribing the members. Gerhauser required the payment of two thousand ducats before the instrument of acquittal should be executed; and the avaricious Trenck, who supposed himself secure, offered him only one hundred. Judgment was in consequence delayed. Lowenwalde knew well how to profit by the opportunity. Gerhauser discovered the whole secret proceedings; and Lowenwalde, deeply interested in the ruin of Trenck, went to the empress, related the manner in which the judges had been bribed, and threatened that, should he, through the protection of the emperor and Prince Charles, be declared innocent, he would then publicly vindicate the honour of the late court-martial. On this occasion he attempted to bribe me, to discover what the particulars of the contract were between Trenck and his judges; I despised him however too much. Nay, I knew that, in concert with the lieutenant of the police, Mannagetta, he had planned my imprisonment on my first arrival at Vienna, pretending that Trenck had taken the king of Prussia prisoner, Frederick had sent me to his assistance, and I was privately to have been kept in confinement till sentence had been passed on my kinsman. This was discovered by the Baron Lopresti, just when the artifice of Miss Schwerin was in agitation, and when the whole plan was rendered abortive by the emperor.

When I had forsaken my dangerous relation, as I have already related, and when, fearing his ingratitude, other of his friends also had deserted him, among whom was Prince Charles himself, the noble company of his accusers had then an open field; his advocate durst speak

no more : the revision of his cause was interrupted, and an arrest was issued on the 20th of August, that he should be perpetually confined as a state prisoner in the Spielberg. His property, however, remained in sequestration, nor was he deprived of it, but gave orders, and examined the accounts of his collectors, to the day of his death.

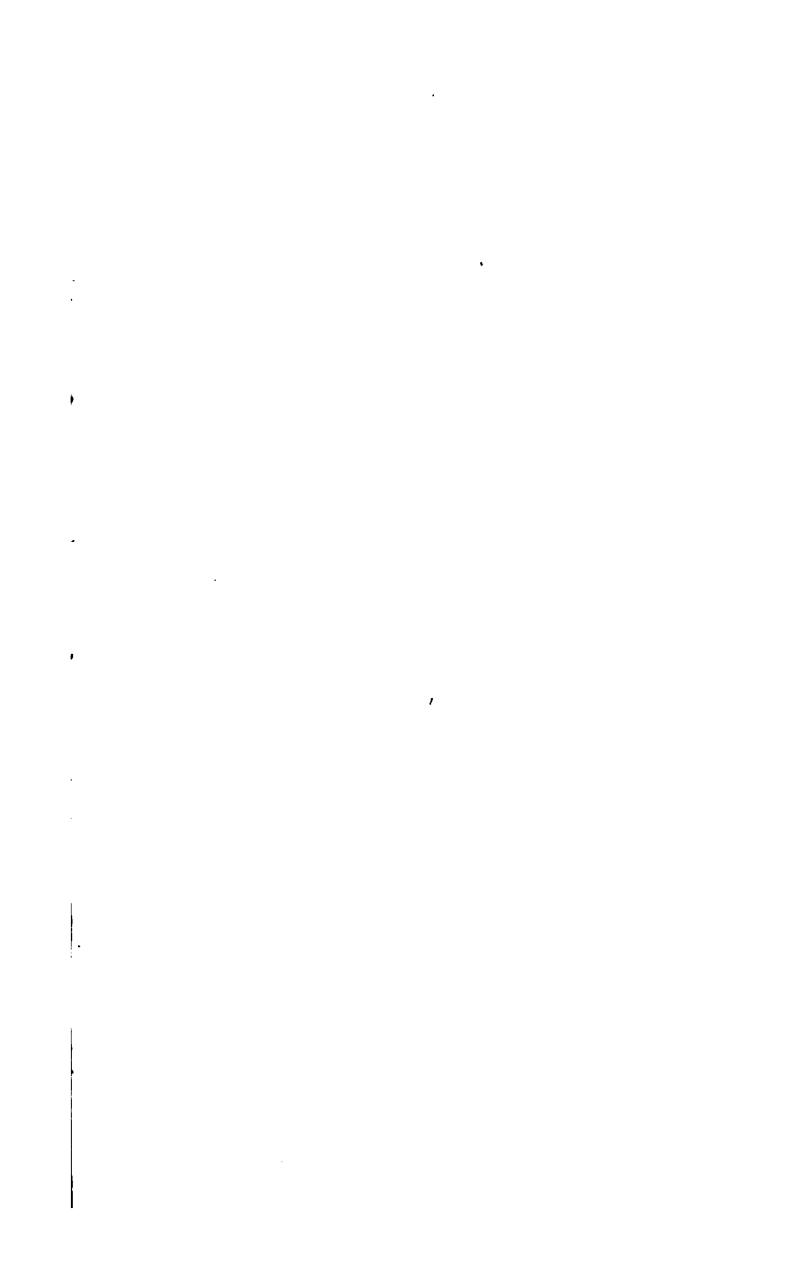
Thus he fell the victim of a covetous and evil heart. His revision judges had stripped him of more than fifty thousand rix dollars, and, at last, fearing detection from him, abandoned him to secure themselves.

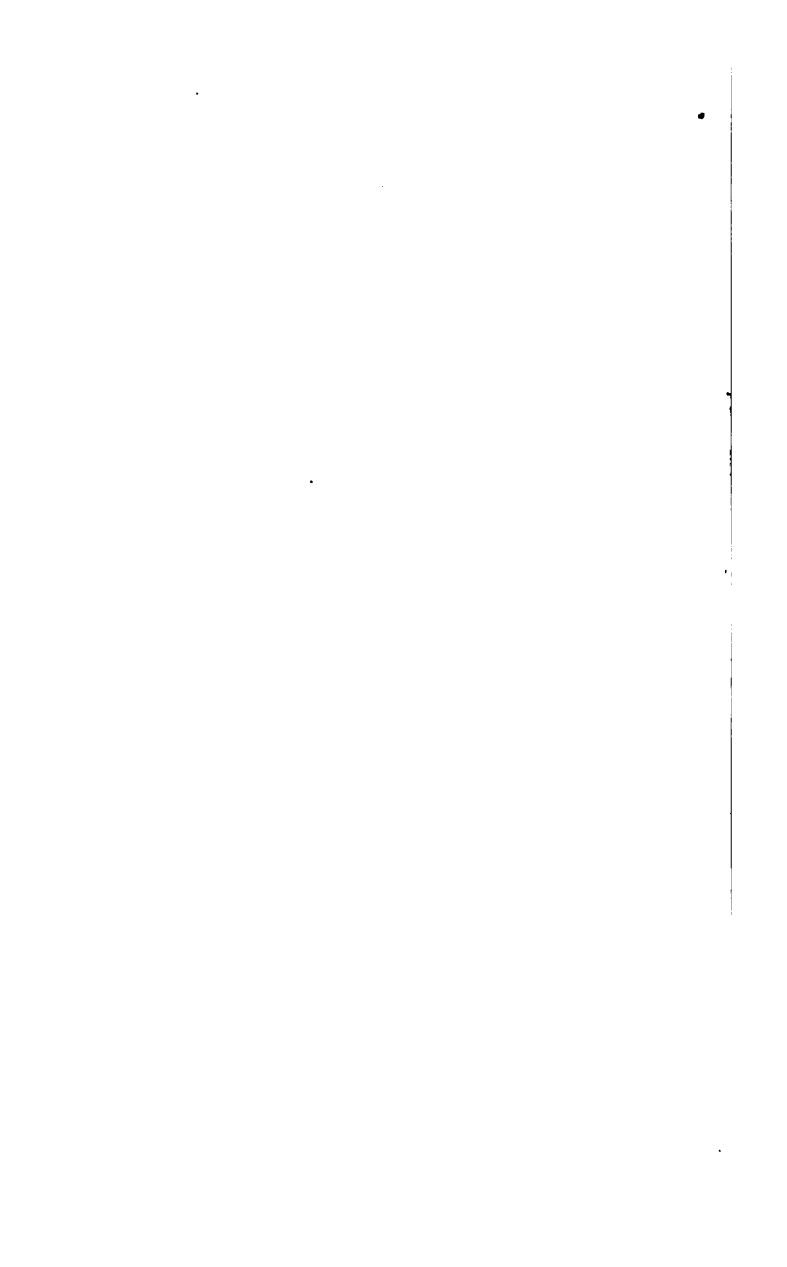
Such are the principal circumstances in the prosecution of Trenck, which once was so much the subject of conversation in Vienna. Many trembled, many profited. I have this way had sorrowful cause to know what judges are. His wretched avarice deterred him from making some trifling sacrifices, to secure the remainder of his fortune, recover his liberty, and attain to the highest honours.

He wished to have escaped from the Spielberg, but this he could not accomplish. Had he followed my plan of flight which I proposed, when he was confined in the arsenal of Vienna, he would scarcely have died in prison, nor should I have lain fettered in the dungeon of Magdeburg.

Finding his project of escaping from the Spielberg frustrated, and all hope cut off, this chief of the Pandours determined on death. I have before related the manner of this death, of his having sent for a confessor, informed him Saint Francis had appeared to him, that he despatched his capuchin confessor to Vienna, and on the morrow said, " God be praised, my departure is certain, for my confessor is dead, and has appeared to me ;" that the confessor actually was dead, that he summoned the officers, shaved his head like a monk, confessed publicly, preached a sermon an hour long, exhorted all his hearers to a holy life, smiled at all earthly good, went to prayers, slept tranquilly, rose

the next morning, prayed again, took out his watch about noon, and said, "Praise be to the Almighty, the hour draws nigh;" that those who laughed at his impudent imposture were amazed to see his face grow pale; that he supported his head on his hands, prayed at his table, remained motionless with his eyes open; that the clock struck twelve, they shook him, but found he was actually dead; that miracle was then the universal cry, and that Saint Francis had descended and carried off the Pandour Trenck into paradise. I have said that all this had been performed by the secret of the poisoned water of Tofano; have further added that the last ambition of Trenck was to rank high in the calendar; that, perceiving he could no longer be the richest and first of men, he wished to be the greatest of saints; that he knew he should perform miracles after his death, for he had built a chapel, founded a perpetual mass, and bequeathed six thousand florins to the capuchins; that he expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after having been the scourge of Bavaria, whose inhabitants will scarcely ever in their litanies entreat Saint Trenck to be their mediator at the throne of grace; that he lived the tyrant and enemy of the human race, and died a holy scoundrel!





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